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A COMPANION TO CATHERINE OF SIENA

Edited by
CAROLYN MUESSIG, GEORGE FERZOCO
& BEVERLY MAYNE KIENZLE

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A Companion to Catherine of Siena

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Caterina in ambiente domenicano," in *Il velo, la penna e la parola*, ed. Gabriella Zarri and Gianni Festa (Florence, 2009), pp. 125–31.

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TIMELINE FOR CATHERINE OF SIENA'S LIFE

1347	Catherine of Siena is born.
1348	Black Death devastates Western Europe; Siena suffers greatly.
1353	Catherine, in a vision, receives an eternal benediction from Christ. This is the first sign that she will lead an exceptional life.
1354	Catherine, in secret, makes a perpetual vow of virginity to Christ.
1362	Catherine's sister Bonaventura dies while giving birth. This marks a conversion in Catherine's life where she turns away from the possibility of marriage to embrace an ascetic life of self-renunciation.
1363–67	Catherine's family attempts to dissuade her from the ascetic life by treating her like a domestic servant. Catherine eventually persuades them to accept her decision. She associates with the *mantellate*, but dedicates most of her time to prayer in her own home and to church attendance.
1368	Her father Giacomo dies on 22 August. Catherine is mystically married to Christ. This is the start of her public life.
1369	She joins the *mantellate* and embarks on a life of active service.
1370	Catherine begins her career as a composer of letters. She experiences a mystical death. Gregory XI is elected to the papacy in late December.
1374	The anonymous account of *The* Miracoli *of Catherine* is composed. Raymond of Capua becomes Catherine's confessor.
1375	Catherine receives the stigmata in the church of Santa Cristina in Pisa. She becomes an active negotiator for peace between the papacy and various Tuscan cities as witnessed in her diplomatic missions during the War of the Eight Saints (1375–78).
1376	Catherine, in her role as holy woman and peace negotiator, travels to Avignon in June to meet Pope Gregory XI in person.

1377 Catherine begins work on her *Dialogo*. The Avignon Papacy (1309–77) comes to an end with the return of the papal court to Rome in January.

1378 Pope Gregory XI dies. Pope Urban VI is elected on 8 April. Catherine is nearly killed during the Ciompi Revolt in Florence. The War of the Eight Saints ends. Catherine completes the *Dialogo*. On 20 September, the Great Schism begins with the election of Pope Clement VII in opposition to Urban VI. In late November, Catherine and many members of her *famiglia* move to Rome.

1379 Catherine endeavors to assist Pope Urban VI to end the Great Schism and to encourage ecclesiastical reform. The majority of her *Orazioni* are composed during this time. Catherine's health deteriorates.

1380 In January and February, Catherine writes a handful of letters to Pope Urban VI and Raymond of Capua. Catherine dies on 29 April in Rome.

Carolyn Muessig

INTRODUCTION

Carolyn Muessig

Shortly before the Black Death gripped western Europe, Catherine of Siena (1347–80) and her twin sister were born as the 23rd and 24th children of Lapa and Giacomo di Benincasa.[1] Her twin soon died, but Catherine would live another 33 years. Catherine's upbringing was comfortable. Her father was a successful wool dyer who came from a family of merchants and notaries. Her grandfather on her mother's side had been a poet.[2] Catherine grew up in a city ravaged by plague and surrounded by factious politics, yet she established herself as a vocal and active religious reformer, known up and down the Italian peninsula and in the papal court at Avignon. Her assistance to the sick and destitute, her asceticism, and her humility mixed with outspoken condemnation of what she perceived as sinful, regardless of who or what was the target, enabled her to gain authority both as a prophet and as a peacemaker at a time when women rarely played key public roles.

Much of what we know about the specific details of Catherine's life comes through hagiographical sources, in particular Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior*.[3] The *Legenda maior* relates that Catherine at the age of six saw a vision of Christ enthroned who, surrounded by Peter and Paul and John the Evangelist, gave her an eternal benediction.[4] At seven she made a vow of perpetual virginity to Christ.[5] In her

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[1] For a concise yet very thorough overview of Catherine of Siena's life, see Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Caterina da Siena," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 22 (Rome, 1979), pp. 361–79. Catherine of Siena is referred to in scholarship under various names, including: Caterina da Siena, Caterina Benincasa, Caterina di Giacomo di Benincasa, and Caterina di Iacopo di Benincasa.

[2] See F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), pp. 29–30. Luongo brings to the fore that Catherine was borne into a successful family, a point underplayed by hagiographers who sometimes intimated that Catherine came from very modest means.

[3] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B. Cited throughout the book as *Legenda maior*.

[4] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, Part I, Chapter 1, paragraph 29, I.1.29.860F. Henceforth, references to this work will be listed without explicit mention of part, chapter, paragraph, and column, e.g., I.1.29.853A–959B.

[5] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.1.35.862B.

early teens, however, Catherine briefly courted the secular life when her parents, in an attempt to lead her to marriage and children, put her under the care of her older sister Bonaventura. Catherine delighted in the company of her married sister. But in 1362 the premature death of Bonaventura in childbirth shook Catherine to the core.[6] Thereafter, she embraced fully the ascetic rigors of fasting, self-scourging, and vigils.[7]

Her adoption of bodily renunciation was first met with dismay and anger by her family. In order to discourage her from a life of prayerful abstinence, they refused Catherine a room of her own and made her do demeaning domestic chores. Both her will and her eloquence eventually won over her family as she persuaded them that she would not be deterred from a devout life:

> If you wish to keep me in your house as your servant, I am ready to assent to this so that I may serve you gladly. But if you should decide to eject me from your house, please know that in no way will my heart avoid its intention. For I have a rich and powerful Bridegroom who will not permit me to want in any way, without a doubt he will administer to me all the things I need.
>
> When her family heard all these things…they considered the holy intention of the virgin and they did not dare to contradict her. They discerned a girl who had hitherto been quiet and modest now declaring both boldly and lucidly her mind with such wise words.[8]

This would be the first of many examples where Catherine's determination and fluency brought about her desired effect.

Catherine's early religious career is marked by her association with the Sienese *mantellate*,[9] a female movement known for their penitential

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[6] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.2.45.864f–865A.

[7] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.65–68.868E–869E.

[8] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.54–55.867A: "Porro si talem vultis me habere in domo vestra, etiam sicut ancillam vestram, parata sum vobis in his quæ scivero, ut potero, servire lætanter. Quod si propter hoc decreveritis me de domo vestra ejiciendam, notum vobis sit, quod in nullo cor meum a suo deviabit proposito: Sponsum enim habeo tam divitem et potentem, quod non permittet me quocumque modo deficere, sed indubitanter necessaria mihi ministrabit.

His dictis audientes cuncti, prorupere in lacrymas; abundantibusque singultuosis suspiriis, nullum ei pro tunc potuit dari responsum. Considerabant enim sanctum propositum virginis, cui contradicere non audebant: cernebantque puellam, hactenus taciturnam et verecundam, tam audacter et ordinate mentem suam per verba prudentiæ declarantem."

[9] See Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.4.69.870B.

practices and dedication to good works.[10] But during these first years of her devout formation she spent most of her time living a contemplative life in her family's home: "She lived continually in the enclosure of her cell, not venturing out except when she used to hurry off to church…She found this desert within her own home, and her solitude in the midst of people."[11]

In 1368 Catherine of Siena's father died. Also around this time Catherine was mystically espoused to Christ. In fact, Raymond of Capua marks her entrance onto the public stage at the end of Part 1 of his *Legenda maior* as starting with this mystical espousal. From this point onward, Catherine saw the ring that the Lord had placed on her finger although it was invisible to all human eyes except hers. The implications of the sign of her wedding ring are explained by Raymond:

> This is, according to the judgment and doctrine of the holy doctors, one of the principal causes why the omnipotent God, by a most particular privilege, reveals to certain wayfarers that they will be most agreeable to him and be in a state of his grace. This is namely because he intends to send them into this wicked world to do battle for the honor of his name and the salvation of souls just as it happened to the apostles on the day of Pentecost when they received so many signs of his grace; and it happened to Paul, to whom it was said, [2 Cor. 12:9] "My grace is sufficient for you." And other similar signs for the grace of humanity have been given. But this woman, beyond the norm for other women had to be sent into public life in order to honor God so that she would procure the salvation of many souls,…accepted the sign of confirmed grace so that boldly and manly she would execute which had been divinely commissioned to her. But this sign was most particular because the other

[10] The *mantellate* emerged in various parts of the Italian peninsula during the 13th century. Through the course of time they became closely associated with the Dominican Order; it was only after Catherine of Siena's death, however, that they became an official third Order of the Dominicans. For further information about the *mantellate*, see Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints. Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200–1500* (Helsinki, 1999). For information on their association with the Dominican Order, see Martina Wehrli-Johns, "L'osservanza dei Domenicani e il movimento penitenziale laico. Studi sulla regola di Munio e sul terz'ordine Domenicano in Italia e Germania," in *Ordini religiosi e società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV*, eds. Giorgio Chittolini and Kaspar Elm, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni 56 (Bologna, 2001), pp. 287–330; Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process: Dominican Penitent Women and the Making of Their *Regula*." *Speculum* 79 (2004), 660–87; and Thurber's chapter in this volume.

[11] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.5.83.873F–874A: "Intra clausuram cellulæ habitabat continue, nec egrediebatur inde, nisi cum ad ecclesiam properabat…Invenit ista desertum intra propriam domum, et solitudinem in medio populorum."

> signs were transitory and appeared at a certain time, but this sign was permanent and stable, and always appeared to her.[12]

Henceforth, Catherine would spend the remainder of her life on the public stage as an itinerant peacemaker, papal representative of sorts, spiritual counselor, theologian, and tireless letter writer.

Catherine now actively embraced the Sienese community of the *mantellate*, who were closely associated with the Dominican Order. She quickly attracted a number of close companions who became known as her *famiglia*;[13] they, in turn, called her *mamma*.[14] In addition to the members of the *mantellate*, her *famiglia* consisted of diverse lay men and women, nuns, monks, and priests. For example, William Flete, an English Augustinian friar, and Stefano Maconi, who would eventually become a Carthusian prior, were associates from among her *famiglia*.[15] Many members of her *famiglia*, however, were Dominicans, like her relative Tommaso della Fonte, who became her first confessor. Tommaso kept track of Catherine's activities in various notebooks. These

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[12] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.7.116–117.882B–882C: "Hæc est enim secundum Doctorum sanctorum sententiam et doctrinam, una de principalibus causis, quare omnipotens Deus aliquibus viatoribus ex singularissimo privilegio revelat, ipsos sibi fore gratos, et esse in statu gratiæ suæ. Quia scilicet intendit eos mittere ad pugnandum cum hoc seculo nequam, pro sui nominis honore et animarum salute; sicut patuit in die Pentecostes de Apostolis; qui tota signa receptæ gratiæ receperunt; et de Paulo, cui dictum est, Sufficit tibi gratia mea [2 Cor. 12:9] et signa quædam alia, humanitatis gratia, data sunt. Hæc autem virgo, quia ultra ceterarum mulierum consuetudinem, mittenda erat ad publicum ad honorem Dei, et salutem multarum animarum procuratura…signum accepit confirmatæ gratiæ, ut audacius et virilius exequeretur, quæ sibi divinitus sunt commissa. Sed singularissimum hoc fuit in ea, quia cum aliorum signa transitoria fuerint et ad tempus apparuerint, ipsius signum permanens fuit et stabile, semperque apparebat ei." In her own writings, however, Catherine claimed that the ring was not made out of gold but out of Christ's foreskin. For further discussion, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 174–75.

[13] For a detailed discussion of when Catherine joined the *mantellate*, see Luongo, *Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena*, pp. 34–42. Luongo persuasively argues that it occurred sometime between 1369–70 and not in 1362 as has often been suggested.

[14] For example of Catherine being referred to as "*mamma*," see Noffke's introduction to Letter 318/G247 in *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, 4 vols (Tempe, 2000–08), 4:103.

[15] See Benedict Hackett, *William Flete, O.S.A., and Catherine of Siena: Masters of Fourteenth-Century Spirituality*, The Augustinian Series 15 (Villanova, 1992). For Stefano Maconi's letters to Catherine, see Stefano Maconi, *Epistola domni Stefani de gestis et virtutibus S. Catharinae*, Acta Sanctorum, April. III, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 961C–967E. And for the important role that Stefano Maconi played in spreading Catherine's cult, see Silvia Nocentini, "*The* Legenda maior *of Catherine of Siena*," in this volume.

accounts, although now lost, were key in recording Catherine's life as they were used by her early hagiographers.[16]

By 1374, Catherine's reputation was attracting considerable attraction in and outside of Siena. An anonymous Florentine author wrote an account of her holy life, entitled *The* Miracoli *of Catherine of Siena*.[17] The *Miracoli* capture a moment in Catherine's career when she was known for her asceticism and service to the sick, but not yet for her involvement in the reform of the papacy. At this time the Dominican Raymond of Capua (d. 1399) became her new confessor; later he would go on to become minister general of the Dominican order.[18] With Raymond as her confessor, Catherine gradually became more involved with ecclesiastical matters as indicated by her epistolary correspondents; for example, although no longer extant, she wrote her first letter to Pope Gregory XI sometime in 1374.[19]

In 1375, Catherine of Siena miraculously received invisible stigmata in the church of Santa Cristina in Pisa. Raymond and other supporters of Catherine identified her stigmata as the apotheosis of her life.[20] In general, Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* emphasized Catherine's numerous visions, extreme fasting, and bodily mortifications. Catherine's *Letters*, however, while no means devoid of mystical discussion, are replete with examples of her pragmatic attempts to reform the Church.[21] She began her epistolary activities around 1370. Her letters

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[16] Jane Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Literature, and the Signs of Others* (Chicago, 2009), pp. 85–86.

[17] For an English translation of *The* Miracoli *of Catherine of Siena*, see *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2005), pp. 87–104. The original Italian text can be found in *I Miracoli di Caterina di Iacopo da Siena di anonimo fiorentino*, ed. Francesco Valli, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensi Historici 4 (Milan, 1936).

[18] See Silvia Nocentini's chapter in this volume for discussion of Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior*.

[19] Catherine mentions in a letter most likely composed in 1374 that she had sent Pope Gregory XI a letter. See *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T127/G117/DT20, 1:38–41, at p. 40; for the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte con note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, ed. Piero Misciattelli, 6 vols (Siena, 1913–21; Florence, 1939–47), CXXVII, 2:227–30, at p. 230.

[20] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.192.901F. Raymond's description of the invisible signs of the stigmata is reminiscent of his description of her invisible wedding ring. For discussion of Catherine's stigmata, see also the chapters by Diega Giunta and Carolyn Muessig in this volume.

[21] For the tendency of male writers to underline the visionary aspects of Catherine's life and for Catherine to accentuate the active and practical aspects, see Karen Scott, "St Catherine of Siena, *Apostola*," *Church History* 61.1 (1992), 34–46.

just by their sheer quantity (nearly 400) and their range of recipients (e.g., popes, political leaders, queens, cardinals, mercenaries, lay men and women) indicate that she was a person who had her finger on the pulse of the religious and political world of late medieval Italy.[22] For example, Catherine attempted to lead the pope and the Florentine league to mutual concord during the War of the Eight Saints (1375–78);[23] she encouraged the papacy to move its court from Avignon back to Rome;[24] and she called for a crusade against the Turks.[25] These and many of her other *Letters* show her to be involved in the most pressing matters of the 14th century.

Catherine, however, was also actively involved with the everyday issues of religious and domestic existence. In 1376 she urged a prostitute in Perugia to relinquish her life of sin in order to gain eternal salvation.[26] In the same year she attempted to convert a Jewish man to Christianity.[27] A year earlier, she had offered her advice to the Sienese notary, Cristofano di Gano Guidini, advising him on whom he should take as a wife.[28] Catherine's inclusion in these and the more high profile events of the 14th century was based greatly on her authority as an ascetic woman who was eloquent beyond her years. This eloquence is alluded to in the *Legenda maior* when Christ, in one of his many conversations with her, reassures Catherine that she must go out and save souls: "I shall give you a mouth and wisdom which none will be able to resist."[29]

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[22] See Suzanne Noffke's chapter in this volume.

[23] For an example of how Catherine encouraged the pope to mitigate his wrath and be more like a father when dealing with his Tuscan enemies, see *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T255/G13/DT71, 2:192–94, at p. 193; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLV, 4:83–85.

[24] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T206/G5/DT63, 2:61–64, at pp. 63–64; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCVI, 3:202–05.

[25] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T196/G4/DT64, 2:18–21, at p. 20; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, XI, 3:160–63.

[26] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T276/G73, 1:290–94; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLXXVI, 4:182–87.

[27] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T15/G310, 1:280–83; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, XV, 1:49–51.

[28] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T43/G240/DT44, 1:172–74; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, XLIII, 1:172–74.

[29] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.216.906E: "Ego enim tibi dabo os et sapientiam, cui nullus resistere poterit." This is a paraphrase of Luke 21:15: "Ego enim dabo vobis os et sapientiam, cui non poterunt resistere et contradicere omnes adversarii vestri."

Catherine's persuasiveness as a religious figure who attracted a *famiglia* of disciples is echoed in her various writings. Her *Letters* present a theology based on love of God and neighbor with a heavy emphasis on the cross, Christ's passion, and merciful blood.[30] Some of her letters begin with the phrase: "I Caterina, servant and slave of the servants of Jesus Christ, am writing to encourage you in the precious blood of God's Son."[31] One of her most cited epistles, which is an account of the beheading of the young man Niccolò di Toldo for allegedly causing discord within Siena and her presence at the execution to soothe his distress, is a powerful testimony to the themes of mercy, blood, suffering, and forgiveness that pervade her writings.[32] She also produced 26 prayers, *Le Orazioni*, which reflect her vivid theological expression.[33] This is wonderfully demonstrated in her praise of Christ's mercy and love for humanity in his embrace of human nature: "You implanted your divinity, into the dead tree of our humanity. O sweet and gracious implanting! You, the height of sweetness, granted us to be united to you in our bitterness."[34] Finally, her *Il Dialogo*, the culmination of her theological learning, is a conversation between Catherine's soul and God in which her soul's desire for God leads her to obey his will.[35] Catherine's ascetic theology is captured near the beginning of the work when God tells Catherine the following:

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[30] Catherine's extant letters date from 1370 until her death in 1380. See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:xv. Full details of the editions of Catherine of Siena's *Letters*, see below. See also the bibliography at the end of the volume.

[31] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T69/G243/DT24, 1:65. For original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, LXIX, 1:261–64: "Io Caterina, serva e schiava de' servi di Gesù Cristo, scrivo a voi e confortovi nel prezioso sangue suo."

[32] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T273/G97/DT31, 1:82–90; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLXXIII, 4:173–78.

[33] Her prayers were produced between 1376 and 1380, the majority of which were composed while Catherine was in Rome in 1379. See Catherine of Siena, *Le Orazioni di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini (Siena, 1993), p. xxii, table 1.

[34] Catherine of Siena, *Le Orazioni di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. Cavallini, Prayer 10, pp. 105–14, at p. 106: "Innestando la deità tua ne l'arbore morto della nostra umanità. O dolce e soave innesto: tu somma dolcezza ti se'degnato d'unirti con la nostra amaritudine."

[35] Catherine most likely began *Il Dialogo* in the autumn of 1377 and completed it in the late summer of 1378. See Catherine of Siena. *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza: ovvero Libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini, Testi Cateriniani 1, 2nd edn (Siena, 1995), p. xxx.

> The desire to want to bear every pain and weariness until death for the salvation of souls pleases me greatly. The more a person sustains this desire, the more the person shows me one's love; the more the person loves me, the more one knows my truth; and the more one knows, the more one feels the torment and intolerable pain at the offenses against me.[36]

Catherine's last two letters were written in February 1380 to Raymond of Capua.[37] In these, she talked about self-sacrifice for the good of the Church and reform of the papacy. In her final letter, she gave spiritual advice to Raymond, telling him to be mature and prudent.[38] In these letters, she wrote with a tone of extreme urgency, no doubt because she wanted the Great Schism to end immediately and because she was fairly certain that she would soon be dead. Indeed, Catherine's constant activity as peacemaker, papal advisor, spiritual counselor, and theologian could not be sustained on her brutal ascetic regime. Her death at the age of 33 on 29 April 1380 had been hastened by her strict fasts. Barduccio di Piero Canigiani (d. 1382),[39] one of her transcribers and close companions from amongst her *famiglia*, intimated as much in a letter he wrote describing Catherine's final days and last words.[40] Canigiani was present at Catherine's death in Rome, where she spent

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[36] Catherine of Siena. *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza*, ed. Cavallini, Chapter V, p. 15, ll. 215–20: "Molto è piacevole a me il desiderio di volere portare ogni pena e fadiga infino alla morte in salute dell'anime. Quanto l'uomo più sostiene, più dimostra che m'ami; amandomi più congnosce della mia verità e quanto più cognosce più sente pena e dolore intollerabile dell'offesa mia."

[37] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T371/G103, 4:358–63, and Letter T373/G102, 4:364–70; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCLXXI, 5:273–78 and CCCLXXIII, 5:284–92.

[38] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T373/G102, 4:369; and Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCLXXI, 5:273–78.

[39] See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, Appendix 1, 4:373–74, for a brief summary of Barduccio di Piero Canigiani's life. All four volumes of the *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, contain appendices listing people who were associated with Catherine of Siena; see *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:535–49, 2:703–25, 3:353–71, and 4:371–407.

[40] He wrote the letter to Sister Catherine Petriboni from the monastery of San Piero at Monticelli near Florence. A translation of Canigiani's letter can be found in Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Algar Thorold (London, 1907), pp. 335–44. I am using Thorold's translation. Presently Thorold's edition 1907 of Catherine's *Dialogo* and Canigiani's letter can be found online at the following address: http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0139/_INDEX.HTM (last accessed 19 September 2011). For the original Italian, see "Lettera di Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani nella quali si contiene il transito della Serafica Vergine," in Catherine of Siena, *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Girolamo Gigli, 4 vols (Siena, Lucca, 1707–21), 1:481–89.

the last 18 months of her life endeavoring to bring the Great Schism to an end. Her ill health and ravaged body were patent:

> In this way her body continued to consume itself until the Sunday before the Ascension; but by that time it was reduced to such a state that it seemed like a corpse in a picture, though I speak not of the face, which remained ever angelical and breathed forth devotion, but of the bosom and limbs, in which nothing could be seen but the bones, covered by the thinnest skin, and so feeble was she from the waist downwards that she could not move herself, even a little, from one side to another.[41]

Canigiani gives an account of her last words, which are a summary of the main points of Catherine's public life: reform of the papacy and utter devotion to the cross and the blood of Christ.[42] Ultimately Canigiani, like her other hagiographers, viewed Catherine as Christ-like: "Finally, after the example of the Savior, she said: 'Father, into Your Hands I commend my soul and my spirit,' and thus sweetly, with a face all shining and angelical, she bent her head, and gave up the ghost."[43] Catherine died surrounded by several members of her *famiglia*, including her mother Lapa.

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[41] "A Letter of Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, containing the transit of the Seraphic Virgin," in *The Dialogue of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Thorold, p. 338. "Lettera di Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani Nella quali si contiene il Transito della Serfica Vergine," in Catherine of Siena, *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Gigli, 1:484: "In tal maniera consumavasi quel corpo fino alla Domenica innanzi all' Ascensione, ma allora era ridotto a tal segno, che parea qual suol dipignersi un cadavero, non dico però del Volto sempre Angelico, e spirante divozione, ma del rimanente del busto, e delle membra, nelle quali altro non si vedea, che l'ossa di sottil pelle coperte; ed era rimasa dalla Cintura in giù disciolta, in guisache non potea muoversi, nè pure un poco, da un lato all' altro."

[42] Canigiani describes how Catherine several times, shortly before dying, called out the words: "Blood, Blood." See, "A Letter of Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, containing the transit of the Seraphic Virgin," in *The Dialogue of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Thorold, p. 343; and "Lettera di Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani nella quali si contiene il transito della Serfica Vergine," in *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina*, ed. Gigli, 1:488: "Sangue, Sangue." For another account of Catherine's last words and death, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. Misciattelli, II, "Ultimate Parole," 6:143–53. Volume 6 of this series has for its title: *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena e di alcuni suoi discepoli*, which contains letters not included in Tommaseo's original edition.

[43] "A Letter of Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, containing the transit of the Seraphic Virgin," in *The Dialogue of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Thorold, p. 344. "Lettera di Ser Barduccio di Piero Canigiani Nella quali si contiene il Transito della Serfica Vergine," in *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina*, ed. Gigli, 1:488: "Ultimamente ad esempio del Salvatore disse. 'Padre nelle tue mani raccomando l'Anima, e lo spirito meo;' e così soavemente, con una faccia del tutto Angelica, e relucente, chinato il capo, rendè lo spirito."

Catherine's unique theological expression, active ministry, and extreme asceticism caught the imagination of many in and outside of Italy; in her own lifetime her contemporaries began to record her words and deeds in the belief that they were preserving the actions of a future saint.[44] The continuous interest in her life and works has resulted in a vast range of research produced predominately in Italian.[45] However, for the purposes of the present discussion, the trends in research on Catherine of Siena mainly in the Anglophone world will be summarized in order to situate the present study, *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, in its historiographical context.[46]

Catherine of Siena's life and works have been known in the English-speaking world since the early 15th century, when her theological treatise the *Dialogo*, which presents a conversation between Catherine and God regarding the path to salvation for all humanity, was translated into Middle English for the nuns of Syon Abbey. It was translated under the title *Orcherd of Syon* and was subsequently printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1519.[47] Algar Thorold translated the *Dialogo*

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[44] One of her early confessors, Bartolomeo Dominici (also a Dominican), is recorded to have written about Catherine of Siena's activities well before her death. See Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), p. 72. [For a discussion of Caffarini's name, see footnote 62 below.] See also Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, p. 87. See also the anonymous *I Miracoli di Caterina di Iacopo da Siena di anonimo fiorentina*, ed. Valli; this text was written during Catherine's lifetime and records her ascetic practices up until 1374. For further information and a translation of the *Miracoli*, see "The *Miracoli* of Catherine of Siena," in *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 87–104.

[45] For a comprehensive bibliography of Catherine of Siena, see Lina Zanini, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1901–1950* (Rome, 1971); Lina Zanini and Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1951–1975* (Rome, 1985); Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1976–1985* (Rome, 1989); Paterna, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1986–1990* (Rome, 2000); and Paterna, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1991–2000* (Rome, 2003). The website of the Centro Internazionale di Studi Caterinani also contains news and information regarding recent publications. See http://www.centrostudicateriniani.it/4/4catalogo.html (last accessed 19 September 2011).

[46] For an overview of trends in Catherinian scholarship including and beyond the English speaking world, see F. Thomas Luongo's chapter in this volume.

[47] For a critical edition of the nuns of Syon's translation of the *Dialogo*, see Catherine of Siena, *The Orcherd of Syon. Edited from the Early Manuscripts*, eds. Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, EETS Original Series 258 (Oxford, 1966). For the printed edition by Wynkyn de Worde, see *Orcharde of Syon* (London, 1519). Modern English editions include *The Dialogue of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Thorold; and Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, trans. Suzanne Noffke, preface by Giuliana Cavallini, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1980).

into modern English in 1896, with a second edition appearing in 1907.[48] Suzanne Noffke produced another modern English translation which follows closely Giuliana Cavallini's first edition of the *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza: ovvero Libro della divina dottrina* published in 1968.[49] Catherine's *Epistole* (letters), which she directed to popes, priests, countesses, prostitutes, and artists, as well as her own mother, Lapa, have received detailed analysis by Suzanne Noffke in her four-volume English translation of Catherine's letters—the most extensive study to date in any language on Catherine's impressive epistolary output.[50] Noffke also translated into English Catherine's 26 *Orazioni* (prayers).[51]

In regard to her *vitae*, an English translation of her life based on Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* was published by Wynkyn de Worde in the late 15th century.[52] Another English translation of the *Legenda maior* was produced in 1609 for the English canonesses of St Monica's convent in Louvain. The translator was the exiled Catholic priest John Fenn (d. 1615) who used the Italian translation by Lancellotto de' Politi (1484–1553) of Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior*.[53] In 1948, George Kaftal provided substantial translated excerpts from the *Legenda maior* to accompany as well as to explicate various scenes

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[48] See Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Thorold. Thorold's translation is based on Gigli's edition of the *Dialogo* in Catherine of Siena, *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Gigli.

[49] Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, trans. Noffke.

[50] *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke. In the early 20th century, only slightly more than 60 of her letters were published in English: Vida Scudder Dutton, *Saint Catherine of Siena as Seen in Her Letters*, 2nd edn (London, 1906). See Luongo's chapter in this volume for further discussion.

[51] *The Prayers of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Suzanne Noffke (1983; New York, 2001). This is a translation of Catherine of Siena, *Le Orazioni*, ed. Guiliana Cavallini (Rome, 1973).

[52] Raymond of Capua, *The Lyf of Saint Katherin of Senis the Blessid Virgin* (Westminster, London, [1492?]). This is a highly abridged version of Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior*, the translation of which Edmund Gardner describes "as freely rendered." See Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena. A Study in the Religion, Literature and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy* (London, 1907), p. ix.

[53] Lancellotto de' Politi is also known as Ambrogio Catarino Politi (Ambrosius Catharinus Politus), the name he adopted in commemoration of Catherine of Siena when he entered the Dominican Order in c. 1517. He is best known for his anti-Lutheran treatises. See Ilse Guenther, "Lancellotto de' Politi," in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, eds. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto, 1985–87), 2:105–06, at p. 105. See John Fenn, trans., *The Life of Blessed Virgin Sainct Catharine of Siena* (Douai, 1609).

of Catherinian iconography.[54] By so doing, Kaftal simultaneously introduced to a wide audience the richness of the textual and visual sources of Catherine of Siena. In the second half of the 20th century, two modern English translations of her life, one by George Lamb and the other by Conleth Kearns, have allowed for what was once a relatively inaccessible text to become readily available to large numbers of interested students and scholars.[55]

In addition to translations of Catherine's works into English, a number of landmark studies in Catherinian studies have been produced by Anglophone scholars. Edmund Gardner (1869–1935), through his magisterial *Saint Catherine of Siena. A Study in the Religion, Literature and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy*, inspired numerous academics to pursue the subject of Catherine of Siena as a fruitful topic of research.[56] When Gardner published his perceptive tome of more than 400 pages, several key texts dealing with Catherine had never been edited in their entirety, let alone translated.[57] But his close manuscript work and clear analysis led him to articulate the important position that Catherine of Siena held in 14th-century Italy. He observed that Catherine was

> the successor of Dante in the literature and religious thought of Italy, [and] the connecting link between St Francis of Assisi and Fra Girolamo Savonarola in the strange pageant of the progress of the mystical chariot

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[54] George Kaftal, *Saint Catherine in Tuscan Painting* (Oxford, 1949).

[55] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of St Catherine of Siena*, trans. George Lamb (1960; repr. Rockford, 2003). This English version is based on the Italian translation by P. Giuseppe Tingali and Ezio Cantagalli, *Legenda maior*: *S. Caterina da Siena. Vita Scritta dal B. Raimondo da Capua, confessore della Santa* (Siena, 1934). There is an English translation of Raymond of Capua's Latin *Legenda maior*: Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Conleth Kearns, 2nd edn (Washington, D.C., 1994). Kearns' translation contains a helpful introduction. Other English translations of either Catherine's own works or works written about her or by her contemporaries include: *I, Catherine. Selected Writings of St Catherine of Siena*, eds. and trans. Kenelm Foster and Mary John Ronayne (London, 1980); and *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, which contains excerpts from Caffarini's *Libellus de supplemento* and the *Miracoli*.

[56] Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena*. Augusta Theodosia Drane wrote a voluminous study on Catherine which was largely superseded by Gardner's study. Nonetheless, Drane's work holds a significant place in Catherinian scholarship in its underlining the importance of the place of Catherine in religious history. See Augusta Theodosia Drane, *The History of St Catherine of Siena and Her Companions: With a Translation of Her Treatise on Consummate Perfection*, 4th ed., 2 vols (London, 1915).

[57] Among these major texts were the *Processo Castellano* and Caffarini's *Libellus de supplemento*.

> of the Spouse, which the divine poet saw in the part on the banks of the Lethe in the Earthly Paradise.[58]

This comment and many similar observations by Gardner put Catherine of Siena on the map of not only early 20th-century Italianists but also historians and medievalists in general.

The growth and spread of interest in Catherine of Siena has also come from writings produced by various religious communities who have been attracted to Catherine of Siena's theological discourse. Since her death, Dominicans have been at the forefront of this trend, indicating the doctrinal import of Catherine's works. This is not surprising, as the *mantellate* were associated with the Dominicans and her closest confessors were Dominicans such as Tommaso della Fonte and Raymond of Capua.[59] Most recently, the works of Mary O'Driscoll and Thomas McDermott invite the reader to ruminate on both Catherine's life and writings and to look at her doctrine not only academically but as a practical example to be applied to contemporary life.[60]

In the area of gender studies, Caroline Walker Bynum and Rudolph Bell have given a great impetus to the study of Catherine of Siena. Both authors focused on the issue of fasting and female devotion in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, which led them to consider Catherine's case in some detail.[61] Bell's approach was one which relied on psychology, Freudian analysis, and statistics. He argued that there were great similarities between some Italian ascetic women, including Catherine of Siena, and modern-day anorexics: Bell concluded that holy women fasted to the point of starvation for love of God (holy anorexia), while the modern-day anorexic fasts to perfect her body

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[58] See Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, p. vii.

[59] For a discussion of the religious practice of the *mantellate*, see Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints.* For discussion of the involvement of Dominican clerics with the *mantellate* and their role in the compilation of the rule for the Third Order Dominicans, see Wehrli-Johns, "L'osservanza dei Domenicani e il movimento penitenziale laico"; and Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules".

[60] Mary O'Driscoll, *Catherine of Siena. Passion for the Truth, Compassion for Humanity: Selected Spiritual Writings* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 2003); Mary O'Driscoll, *Catherine of Siena* (London, 2007). Thomas McDermott, *Catherine of Siena. Spiritual Development in Her Life and Teaching* (New York, 2008). It should also be noted that some of the translations of Catherine of Siena's works into English were conceived within the framework of the Dominican Order. See *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:x.

[61] Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago, 1985); and Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast:* See also Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Denial as Action—Penance and its Place in the Life of Catherine of Siena," in this volume.

image (anorexia nervosa). Bynum, in contrast, posited that Catherine's inedia, as with many other holy women from the Middle Ages, must be understood not so much in a psychological context but in the larger framework of cultural meaning and symbols of the late Middle Ages. To do this, Bynum documented the religious impulses which led some holy women to become so devoted to the Eucharist that they were unable to eat anything else—Catherine of Siena was the most poignant example of this practice, dying no doubt from malnutrition at the age of 33. Both Bell and Bynum's groundbreaking studies regarding gender and devotion shed an abundance of light on Catherine of Siena. In their wake, some researchers alighted directly upon Catherine of Siena as a subject worthy of study in her own right.

Of recent years, one of the main shapers of Catherinian studies has been Karen Scott. Beginning with her Ph.D. thesis, and then further articulated in a series of influential articles, Scott has demonstrated that the Catherine of Siena portrayed in the works of her confessors and followers such as Raymond of Capua and Caffarini is often distinct from the Catherine of Siena we find in her own writings.[62] Catherine the stunning ascetic and mystic emerges from hagiographical accounts, while Catherine herself focused on her active ministry.[63] Scott demonstrates that by looking not only at the hagiographical accounts but also at Catherine's own works, we see a woman who was equally at ease kneeling before a crucifix as speaking before the Roman pontiff.

Several studies have appeared in the early 21st century which provide an ever fuller view of Catherine in her historical context. Among these is Gerald Parsons's far-reaching examination of Catherine's cult over its 600-year history. Parson's analysis demonstrates that Catherine, like all good saints, is in a constant state of evolution. In particular, he reveals the close relationship between religion and politics as portrayed in Catherine's ever-changing image.[64] The study of the

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[62] Caffarini is identified by various names in scholarship: Tommaso di Antonio da Siena; Tommaso d'Antonio Nacci di Siena; Tommaso Caffarini; Thomas of Siena. Throughout *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, the name "Caffarini" will be used to identify this important follower of Catherine of Siena.

[63] Karen Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds: The Role of Speech in Catherine of Siena's Understanding of Her Mission" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989). For further discussion of Scott's contribution to Catherinian scholarship, see Luongo's chapter in this volume.

[64] Gerald Parsons, *The Cult of Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion* (Aldershot, 2008).

14th-century politics of Catherine of Siena's world is the focus of F. Thomas Luongo's *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena*. Luongo's study clarifies Catherine's familial, political, and social ties within Siena and beyond. Catherine's involvement in the politics of late medieval Italy underlines just how complex her saintly role as peacemaker and prophetess was to negotiate along the treacherous terrain of the 14th-century Church.

Recent studies have assessed the complex matter of exactly how Catherine communicated her teaching to others. This issue is particularly tied to the nature of Catherine's literacy—a topic that has been the subject of debate for years. Jane Tylus, in her 2009 study *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, carefully analyses Catherine's role both in the development of female literacy as well as modern notions of authorship to argue that Catherine's place as a writer is rightfully next to Dante and Petrarch. Furthermore, for Catherine the religious campaigner, who toward the end of her life was sick and constantly in pain, the act itself of writing her letters was a work of penance which could assist in reforming the Church. Indeed, Catherine made her voice known (orally and in writing) through her nearly 400 extant letters. It is thanks to Suzanne Noffke's previously mentioned four-volume translation of the letters of Catherine of Siena that one of the most enduring contributions of late medieval religious activism has been made available to a large audience.[65]

It is clear that Catherinian studies in Anglophone academe is by no means a new phenomenon. It has matured during the last half of the 20th century and first decade of the 21st into a flourishing area which features Catherine's significance in the study of religion, politics and gender studies. Building on the corpus of these recent studies, *A Companion to Catherine of Siena* provides informative and fresh analysis of the state of Catherinian scholarship and signposts the way for future studies. The 13 chapters presented here address five main topics: the historiography of Catherinian studies (Luongo); an analysis of Catherine's religious practices, thought, and actions in their historical and theological setting (Thurber, Beattie, Webb, and

[65] For a more detailed analysis of Parsons, Luongo, Tylus, and Noffke, see Luongo's chapter in this volume. In addition to these works on Catherine of Siena, the editors note that as we go to press we are aware that a volume with the working title *The Making of A Saint: Catherine of Siena*, edited by Jeffrey Hamburger and Gabriella Signori, is forthcoming.

Lehmijoki-Gardner); a consideration of Catherine's mode of expression and communication (Kienzle and Tylus); the reception of Catherine's reputation in word, song, and image (Ferzoco, Muessig, Corbari, and Giunta); and the textual transmission and manuscript history of Catherinian sources (Noffke and Nocentini). The chapters mainly focus on Catherine in her medieval context. Luongo, however, considers the *longue durée* of textual sources from Catherine's death until the present time, offering an overview of the richness and range of available material.

The first chapter in this volume, by F. Thomas Luongo, addresses the tension between Catherine's saintly image and her historical persona as depicted in Catherinian historiography. Catherine's early supporters and their works, such as Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* and Caffarini's *Libellus de supplemento*, are examined to highlight how her likeness was shaped by those who were dedicated to promoting her saintly persona. Luongo demonstrates the changing face of Catherine of Siena throughout the ages and also looks at her post-medieval reception. For example, the 18th-century Sienese scholar Girolamo Gigli evoked Catherine's authority to validate his views of the Tuscan tongue, while in the first half of the 20th century she was appropriated by the Fascists to foment Italian nationalism. In regard to the present state of scholarship, Luongo urges a balanced reading of the Catherinian sources which does not overplay her mystical side—as the hagiographical sources often do—at the cost of overlooking Catherine's public ministry and involvement in the political affairs of her day.

The chapters in the next section of the volume consider the world in which Catherine found herself. Allison Clark Thurber looks at the historical setting that informed Catherine's devotion. Siena was a fertile ground of religious expression in the 13th and 14th centuries. Thurber's study provides invaluable data gleaned from the city's statutes and the records of religious hospitals which indicate the number of recluses and the support they received from Sienese society. The number of male and, in particular, female recluses in Siena was among the largest in Italy, and they would have been a very visible group for everyone to view, especially for Catherine, whose religious sensitivities were most keen. Thurber's account of the devotional atmosphere in which Catherine grew up sheds much light on how her spiritual impulses were shaped and also provides some answers to why the number of recluses sharply declined in Catherine's lifetime.

Blake Beattie's study of Catherine's interaction with popes Gregory XI and Urban VI, reveals that her religious vocation was shaped just as much by the Sienese hermits who populated her life as by the ruinous politics of the 14th-century papacy. Catherine's interaction with the papacy was not a political act in itself; her involvement with the popes was only one part, albeit a large one, of her public ministry, which was dedicated to the salvation of souls. Beattie argues that the papal climate in which the saint was born presented the obedient Catherine with a titanic struggle to find a balance between her loyalty to the vicar of Christ and her strong desire to reform the injured papacy by leading it to spiritual renewal.

Heather Webb explains how Catherine's devotional teachings often revolved around penance and salvation and why tears were such a crucial aspect of this piety. Catherine's theological expression of tears is best understood by reading her *Dialogo* rather than Raymond of Capua's accounts of the weeping saint. Webb argues that Catherine's tears resonate with the world of Dante's poetry and communal piety in general. For Catherine, the release of tears tied the individual closer to God and to one's neighbor through the venting of compassion. Furthermore, Webb deftly shows how tears figure in Catherine's claims of authorship and authority, and how tears indicated union with God, prophetic capacity, and revelation.

Many of Catherine's contemporary followers found her strict bodily asceticism the most compelling aspect of her religious life. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner looks at the issue of how the modern reader grapples to understand the extremes of fasting and self-mortification that Catherine embraced. Through an examination of recent studies on female asceticism and with reference to Catherine's life and writings, Lehmijoki-Gardner stresses that Catherine's asceticism exceeded what most devout medieval Christians practiced. Ultimately, it is crucial to note that Catherine's ascetic severity had a theological purpose: it revealed her dedication to the salvation of the souls and her hope to be united with God.

How Catherine communicated in word and script, and how that was understood by her contemporaries, is the subject of the next two papers. Beverly Kienzle's chapter addresses the question of Catherine communicating via the spoken word in her capacity as a preacher. Hagiographers often struggled to portray the public speech of medieval holy women. The reality of some women's successful pastoral

ministry had to be disguised in the harsh light of religious tradition and social custom that balked at the idea of women speaking publicly about their faith, especially when such discussion could be categorized as preaching. Kienzle, through a careful analysis of the hagiographical sources, demonstrates that the *Legenda maior* of Raymond of Capua tightly controls the vocabulary describing Catherine's speech acts to such a degree that the word *preach* was used only after Catherine died. Both the *Legenda maior* and other testimonies affirm that Catherine's preaching, although not generally described as such, often achieved the conversion of the listeners and the spiritual refreshment of both the audience and the preacher herself.

Jane Tylus examines the slippery bridge between orality and textuality in her analysis of Catherine's own sense of literacy, with special emphasis on the saint's epistolary output. The ambiguity, at least to the 21st-century mind, of what constituted medieval literacy (e.g., did it mean reading *and* writing?) is considered in relation to the way Catherine and her contemporaries perceived her literacy. Tylus demonstrates that Catherine's capacity to read was often talked about as miraculous, while her aptitude for writing was perceived as potentially controversial, especially because her writing was conducted outside a traditional monastic enclosure. Catherine's literacy at once embraced the medieval idea that a holy woman could miraculously channel the divine voice and the more modern idea that her own voice was itself a conduit of edification.

The next section of the volume considers various sources that have not received substantial scholarly attention in connection with Catherinian studies, in particular, canonization sources, sermons, songs of praise (*laude*), and visual depictions of Catherine with the stigmata. The first chapter in this section by George Ferzoco looks chiefly at the *Processo Castellano*. This document served as the main piece of evidence in Catherine's canonization process, but it has received scant scholarly analysis among Anglophone scholars. The *Processo Castellano* was a friendly inquisition record instigated by Caffarini and effected by the bishop of Venice, Francesco Bembo, to confirm the sanctity of Catherine of Siena. Its unique origin and abundant detail demonstrates the numerous maneuvers that Caffarini and Catherine's other followers employed in the construction and establishment of her saintly status in the early 15th century. Ferzoco investigates the machinations underlying Catherine of Siena's canonization and focuses on the aspects of her life that were most important to those who testified

in their attempt to establish her sanctity. Almost 50 years after the *Processo Castellano* was compiled, Pope Pius II used it as the keystone to his canonization of Catherine of Siena.

Sermons are closely tied in content to the hagiographical texts which circulated in connection with Catherine of Siena in the late Middle Ages. Carolyn Muessig's chapter considers sermons which commemorated Catherine in a variety of ways. Muessig looks at several sermons from the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries that portray Catherine not only as a stigmatic mystic but also as an active and public force in the reforming of the Church. For the most part, the sermons, especially those written by Dominicans, paint an image of a woman who was at the forefront of an active service; this service included the traditional hallmarks of female sanctity such as virginity and obedience, but it also was defined by less commonplace aspects, such as woman as civic peacemaker, letter writer, and as itinerant papal advocate.

Catherine's *fama* as a saint was channeled through many different media, and one of them was song. Eliana Corbari delves into a rich but overlooked source for Catherinian studies—*laude*, religious poems that were sung, often in the vernacular, in praise of a person. Corbari posits that *laude* provide clear examples of vernacular theology in that they relay religious teaching in an accessible manner to a variety of audiences. She examines and translates six *laude* dedicated to Catherine of Siena which were produced over the space of three centuries. The first *lauda*, written during Catherine's lifetime, presents her as a woman who clearly loved God, but it also warns her to be vigilant against the earthly fame that she was attracting; the later *laude*, on the other hand, depict her as a full-fledged saint above reproach, bejeweled with the stigmata. The chapter sheds light on the historical value of the *laude* and includes an appendix which lists 13 *laude* and four hymns, from between the 14th and 16th centuries, that were dedicated to Catherine.

Diega Giunta examines the apex of Catherine's sanctity, the stigmata, and how her five wounds were represented in art.[66] A consideration

[66] This is an English translation and abridgement of Diega Giunta, "La questione delle stimmate alle origini della iconografia cateriniana e la fortuna del tema nel corso dei secoli," in *Con l'occhio e col lume. Atti del corso seminariale di studi su S. Caterina da Siena (25 settembre–7 ottobre 1995)*, eds. Luigi Trenti and Bente Klange Addabbo (Siena, 1999), pp. 319–47. (Editors' note: There have been some updates and alterations of content, made by the editors, based on scholarship appearing since 1999.)

of depictions of Catherine with the "invisible" stigmata make known the struggle to find expression in visual language of a difficult theological concept. Similar to the sermons generated by Dominicans which presented Catherine in a saintly light, images often sponsored by Dominicans showed Catherine as an indubitable stigmatic—a claim that did not sit well with many Franciscans who believed that only Francis of Assisi had been the recipient of the wounds of Christ. Giunta traces the nuances of the Catherinian stigmata from its earliest renderings up until the 16th century.

The final section of the volume assesses the manuscript tradition of works by and about Catherine of Siena. Suzanne Noffke considers the manuscript history of Catherine's works, that is, her *Epistole, Il Dialogo*, and *Le Orazioni*. Based on an analysis and compilation of the manuscript work conducted by various scholars including Cavallini, Fawtier, Gardner, and Dupré Theseider, Noffke provides a detailed reconstruction of how these works were originally composed and then transmitted. Noffke also shows that the manuscript dissemination and history of Catherine's literary output highlights both the way Catherine went about formulating her teachings and also how those around her sought to preserve her teachings. The study includes a manuscript list for these works, which can serve as a guide for further research on the dissemination of Catherinian literature.

Silvia Nocentini provides a pioneering study of the *Legenda maior* of Catherine by Raymond of Capua. Nocentini dissects the transmission history of this most formative of texts regarding Catherine's saintly image. She exhibits that the *Legenda maior* had a bifurcated transmission history—one that was shaped by the Carthusian Stefano Maconi and the Dominican Caffarini, two men who had worked closely with Raymond of Capua in the preservation of Catherine's memory. The Maconian tradition endeavored to preserve the tone of Raymond's original redaction whilst the Caffarinian manuscript tradition enhanced aspects of Catherine's saintly reputation. In addition to her insightful analysis of the manuscript tradition, Nocentini supplies useful tables and appendices which include a stemma and an extensive list of *Legenda maior* manuscripts. Her study will eventually result in a long-awaited critical edition of the *Legenda maior*.

Both Noffke and Nocentini's studies indicate the importance of the production of critical editions and translations of works by and about Catherine of Siena. Without such publications, our knowledge of Catherine's life and works would simply not advance. Presently,

Giuliana Cavallini's *Le Orazioni* and *Il Dialogo* are the standard critical editions of Catherine's works in the original Italian,[67] and with the publication of the compact disk, *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia*, all of Catherine's writings in their original Italian can now be found in one place.[68] The compact disk uses Cavallini's *Le Orazioni* and *Il Dialogo* and also contains the text of the *Epistole* by Antonio Volpato. However, Volpato's critical edition is not yet complete, so this CD-ROM version of Catherine's collected works does not provide a textual apparatus for the *Epistole*.[69]

The eventual appearance of the critical editions of Volpato's *Epistole* and Nocentini's *Legenda maior* will both increase our understanding of Catherine's life and thought and encourage further studies.[70] It is the aim of the contributors of *A Companion to Catherine of Siena* to offer, through these 13 chapters, a concise guide to the historical trends in Catherinian studies while enunciating the nuances of the religious, textual and cultural context of Catherine of Siena's world.

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[67] Catherine of Siena, *Le Orazioni di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini (Siena, 1993); and Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini (cited n. 36 above).

[68] While the CD-ROM *Santa Caterina da Siena, Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Fausto Sbaffoni (Pistoia, 2002) can be obtained by individual scholars, its availability in research libraries in the English-speaking world remains extremely limited. However, the texts of the *Orazioni, Lettere* and *Dialogo* can presently be accessed online (excluding footnotes and apparatuses) at the following web address: http://www.clerus.org/bibliaclerusonline/it/index.htm (last accessed 19 September 2011).

[69] Volpato's edition builds upon the only critical edition in Italian of the letters that has thus far been published: Catherine of Siena, *Epistolario di Santa Caterina*, vol. 1, ed. Eugenio Dupré Theseider, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dal R. Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo 82, Epistolari, secolo XIV (Rome, 1940). Dupré Theseider's volume contains 88 letters. See also Suzanne Noffke, "Catherine of Siena, Saint," in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz, 2 vols (New York, 2004), at p. 197.

[70] In *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, the contributors have all used the official Bollandist edition of the life of Catherine of Siena: Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B. As indicated in footnote 4 above, this is referred to throughout the book as *Legenda maior*).

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL RECEPTION OF CATHERINE OF SIENA

F. Thomas Luongo

About 30 years after her death, the Sienese Dominican friar Bartolomeo Dominici (1343–1415), one of Catherine of Siena's companions when she visited Avignon in 1376, described one of her encounters with Pope Gregory XI. According to Fra Bartolomeo, the pope desired to return the papacy to Rome, but he was wavering in the face of opposition from his court, the French prelacy, and the king of France. Gregory asked Catherine whether it seemed to her good that he should persevere in his plan despite such opposition. She replied that it was not fitting that a mere woman (*muliercula*) should advise the supreme pontiff.

> He [Gregory] responded, "I am not asking that you advise me, but that you tell me what the will of God is in this matter." But when she humbly excused herself, he commanded her in obedience that she make clear what she knew of God's will in this matter. Then, with her head humbly inclined, she said: "Who knows this better than your Holiness, who vowed to God that you were going to do this?" When he heard this he was greatly stunned, since, as he said, no living body knew of this [vow] except him. From this he resolved to take to the road, which he then did.[1]

Fra Bartolomeo has Gregory XI acknowledge Catherine in terms with which we are now very familiar from several decades of scholarship on late medieval female sanctity and the "feminine" in late medieval religious culture: for the pope, Catherine is a prophetess or mystic, who through her virginity and extreme asceticism has been granted

[1] *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942), p. 301: "[I]pse respondit: 'Non peto ut consulas, sed ut mihi circa hoc pandas voluntatem Dei.' Ipsa vero se humiliter excusante, mandavit eidem per obedientiam ut sibi manifestaret, si quid nosset circa materiam istam de voluntate Dei. Tunc ipsa capite humiliter inclinato dixit: 'Quis melius novit hoc quam sanctitas vestra, que Deo vovistis hoc vos facturum?' Ipse hoc audito nimis stupefactus, quia, ut dixit, nemo vivens corpore preter se hoc sciebat: ex tunc deliberavit iter arripere, quod et fecit."

intimacy with Christ. Thus what Gregory XI wants from Catherine is not her advice, but access through her to divine wisdom. Catherine obliges, and in so doing demonstrates her claims to saintly authority. But the terms by which the pope is prepared to recognize her authority deny her agency for her own utterances and remove her—the *muliercula*—from the stage. In this episode, Catherine stands at the center of international politics, but she participates in worldly affairs only by being apart from the world.

This paradox at the heart of Catherine's "saintly situation"—to use the term coined by Aviad Kleinberg to denote "that situation in which a person is labeled a saint"—has been the main challenge for historians and other scholars in assessing Catherine's career and writings, and their relationship to the world in which she lived.[2] Catherine is famous for her public life and for her writings, but the terms in which scholars remember her as a mystic or prophetic saint, like the terms in which her public was prepared to recognize her authority in her own day, have nearly always placed her apart from worldly politics and the larger culture of the period in which she lived. There have been exceptions, as in the heroic vision of Catherine as the saint who brought the papacy back to Rome, which—as will be discussed below—dominated much discussion of her from the 1850s through the 1940s. But the very grandiosity of that version of Catherine's political engagement tended to make the Italy in which she lived a mere backdrop to her saintly career.

Moreover, Fra Bartolomeo's story also contains a reminder of the complications of saintly politics and the changeability of political values. While helping to end the papacy's "Babylonian Captivity" has been a prominent part of Catherine's modern popular reputation (if not so prominent an attribute in more recent Catherinian scholarship), the return of the papal court to Rome was not considered an unqualified good by Europeans—even Italians—in the several decades following Catherine's death, since it precipitated the disputed papal election of 1378 and a schism that lasted until 1417. Some contemporaries blamed this catastrophe on the influence that women such as Birgitta of Sweden and Catherine had on Gregory XI; Birgitta was criticized in spite of her canonization in 1390, and Catherine's

[2] Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1992), p. 7.

supposed responsibility for the Schism was undoubtedly a reason for the long delay in her canonization, in spite of strenuous campaigns on her behalf by the Dominican order and the city of Siena.[3] Thus Fra Bartolomeo emphasizes Catherine's humble refusal to advise the pope, as well as the pope's equal insistence that she not give him advice. Catherine merely reveals that she knows what Gregory has vowed; the decision to return to Rome was Gregory's, not Catherine's. The care Fra Bartolomeo takes in limiting Catherine's responsibility for the return of the pope to Rome is a useful reminder that what is embraced as a hagiographic attribute at one time might be at another time a source of embarrassment. Indeed, as will be discussed below, scholars of Catherine of Siena and her devotees—two not-mutually exclusive groups—have over time vacillated radically in their sense of the virtue of Catherine's association with Italian politics and culture.

Catherine of Siena has attracted great interest over the years for both scholarly and devotional reasons, and this chapter will cover only a small number of the many articles and books published on Catherine. There are, fortunately, several guides to the considerable Catherinian bibliography.[4] The best general introduction to Catherine's life remains Eugenio Dupré Theseider's very balanced treatment in his

[3] In a 1415 testimony included in the *Processo Castellano*, Caffarini acknowledges this charge, and responds to it—in part, by citing Fra Bartolomeo's testimony as evidence that Gregory had made his vow independent of Catherine (*Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 430–31). Caffarini represents this accusation as vulgar rumor, but in fact it was a charge leveled most influentially by the Parisian chancellor Jean Gerson, whose *De probatione spiritum*, an indirect attack on the canonization of Birgitta of Sweden, was presented to the Council of Constance also in 1415. In his treatise *De examinatione doctrinarum*, Gerson claims that Gregory XI on his deathbed expressed regret for taking the advice of certain women—an indirect but clear reference to Birgitta of Sweden and Catherine of Siena. See Dyan Elliott, *Proving Women: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), p. 284; and Bridget Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), pp. 113–17. On the Sienese cult of Catherine of Siena, and Sienese efforts to obtain her canonization, see Gerald Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion* (Aldershot, 2008).

[4] Catherinian publications can be surveyed through three bibliographical studies: Lina Zanini, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1901–1950* (Rome, 1971); Lina Zanini and Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1951–1975* (Rome, 1985); Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1976–1985* (Rome, 1989); eadem, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1986–1990* (Rome, 2000); eadem, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1991–2000* (Rome, 2003).

entry on Catherine in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.[5] In English, F. Thomas Luongo has argued for revisions of certain aspects of Catherine's biography in his 2006 book on Catherine, while Edmund Gardner's 1907 historical biography remains a useful as well as highly readable account of Catherine's career in historical context, in spite of the fact that it has been superseded on a number of particulars of historical interpretation.[6]

In distancing Catherine from her own world, modern scholars have, sometimes unconsciously, inherited the terms of Catherine's saintly persona established by her followers and promoters in the years between her death in 1380 and her canonization in 1461. In the first phase of Catherine's reception, hagiographic accounts and the promulgation of manuscripts of her writings set the terms for an enduring understanding of Catherine as a public figure who nevertheless transcended the particulars of her own public career. A tension between Catherine's sanctity and her own history is evident in the most authoritative and influential account of her life, the *Legenda maior*, composed by her confessor, Raymond of Capua (c. 1330–99), in the decade after her death, and promulgated when Raymond had succeeded to the generalship of the Dominican order.[7] Raymond's challenge in this long and highly sophisticated work of hagiography was to reconcile Catherine's exceptionally active and public career with the standard expectations of female sanctity. For Raymond, Catherine moved in the world but was not part of it, and the authority of her life and writings depended on her essential distance from the world, gendered as male. Employing a familiar paradox in the discourse of female sanctity in the Middle Ages, Raymond appealed to Catherine's deficiencies as a mere woman, unlearned and frail by nature, to explain the authority of her words and deeds. God sent Catherine and other saintly women in order to shame learned and powerful men who had become puffed up with pride.[8] Whereas Catherine's social and religious status as a female penitent (a *mantellata* or *pinzochera*) was formally ambiguous,

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[5] Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Caterina da Siena," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 22 (Rome, 1979), pp. 361–79.

[6] F. Thomas Luongo, *Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (New York, 2006); Edmund Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in the Religion, Literature, and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy* (London, 1907).

[7] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B. Cited throughout the book as *Legenda maior*.

[8] Ibid., especially chaps. 4 and 122.

Raymond gave her a more distinctly religious identity linking the penitents to St Dominic himself and the Dominican "Order of Penance," a term never used by the *mantellate* during Catherine's lifetime and which seems to have been Raymond's invention.[9] Raymond's Catherine was a would-be contemplative forced into the world in obedience to divine commands, and protected by her engagement with God in a mystic cell that she inhabited perpetually, despite mixing in the world. While Raymond emphasized Catherine's public life in her acts of charity toward and conversions of both lay and clerical men and women, he pointedly avoided depicting her in public settings and generally steered clear of her higher-profile activities.[10] Raymond's reserve in this respect was probably heightened by the resistance among some theologians and highly placed clerics to the canonization of Birgitta of Sweden, as a reaction against what was seen as an excess of influence by allegedly prophetic women and a criticism of Birgitta's role in promoting the return of the papal court to Rome—a charge (as has already been mentioned) that was also eventually lodged against Catherine.[11]

While Raymond of Capua's *Legenda* set the terms for Catherine's reputation, it was the Sienese friar and associate of Catherine, Tommaso d'Antonio da Siena (c. 1315–1434), known as "Caffarini," who was most responsible for the broad diffusion of Catherine's reputation and writings. From the late 1390s, Caffarini made Venice the center of Catherinian devotion and promoted Catherine's canonization in connection with his campaign for papal recognition of the Order of Penance, for which he sought to make Catherine an authority and model. Caffarini procured Catherinian relics and copies of her writings for a shrine to Catherine in the reformed Dominican nunnery of Corpus Domini, which became the center of Catherinian devotion in the Veneto, and established in Venice a professional scriptorium dedicated

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[9] Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process: Dominican Penitent Women and the Making of Their *Regula*," *Speculum* 79 (2004), 660–87.

[10] Sofia Boesch Gajano and Odile Redon, "La 'Legenda Maior' di Raimondo da Capua, costruzione di una santa," in *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano, Siena, 17–20 aprile 1980*, eds. Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi (Siena, 1982), pp. 15–36.

[11] On Raymond's sensitivity to increasing suspicion of female sanctity in the late 14th century, see the discussion of Raymond's agenda in the *Legenda* in John Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

to producing manuscripts of Catherinian hagiography, Catherine's writings, and texts connected to the "Order of Penance."[12] Caffarini was also responsible for several important hagiographical texts connected to Catherine, including a shorter version of Raymond's life of Catherine.[13] He also collected episodes and anecdotes not included in Raymond's *Legenda*, some taken from Catherine's letters and others from the notebooks of Catherine's first confessor, the Dominican Tommaso della Fonte (c. 1337–90), which he included with assorted prayers, liturgical plans, and sermons (most notably, on her receiving of the stigmata) in the *Libellus de supplemento*.[14] Caffarini also was responsible, between 1411 and 1416, for collecting the very valuable testimonies included in the *Processo Castellano*, which was ostensibly a response to inquiries by the bishop of Venice into preaching about Catherine's sanctity by Caffarini and other Dominicans in Venice. (It seems likely, in fact, that the "controversy" was engineered by Caffarini in service of Catherine's canonization cause.)[15] This dossier of testimonies to Catherine's sanctity includes accounts by several men who had known Catherine well. It was later used by Pius II in the definitive inquiry into Catherine's sanctity, which lead to her canonization in 1461.[16] In general, while Caffarini's works add some details about

[12] These include versions of the Rule and the lives of other saintly members of the Dominican "Order of Penance," some of whom Caffarini recruited retrospectively into this new institution. See Caffarini, *Tractatus de ordine FF. de paenitentia S. Dominici de F. Tommaso da Siena*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 21 (Florence, 1938). On the hagiographical efforts of Caffarini, see Fernanda Sorelli, "La produzione agiografica del domenicano Tommaso d'Antonio da Siena Esempi di santità ed intenti di propaganda," in *Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale*, eds. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Naples, 1992), pp. 157–70; and Silvia Nocentini, "Lo *scriptorium* di Tommaso Caffarini a Venezia," *Hagiographica* 12 (2005), 105–41.

[13] Caffarini, *Sanctae Catherinae Senensis Legenda Minor*, ed. Ezio Franceschini, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici 10 (Milan, 1942).

[14] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974). As Silvia Nocentini has recently shown, the effects of Caffarini's hagiographical additions to Catherine's story were felt indirectly through the copies of Raymond's *Legenda maior* issued by his scriptorium; in these, Caffarini added several phrases from the *Libellus de supplemento* to Raymond's account.

[15] See George Ferzoco, "The *Processo Castellano* and the Canonization of Catherine of Siena" in the present collection.

[16] See *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, cited in footnote 1. See also the recent Italian translation: *Il Processo Castellano: Santa Caterina da Siena nelle testimonianze al processo di canonizzazione di Venezia*, eds. Tito S. Centi and Angelo Belloni, Biblioteca di Memorie Domenicane 2 (Florence, 2009).

Catherine's public life that Raymond omits, his writings on Catherine emphasize even more than Raymond's the spiritual and prophetic character of Catherine's reputation. It was as a mystic and ascetic that Catherine became a patron for reformed Dominican communities in the 15th century, and a model for cloistered female religiosity in the 15th and 16th centuries.[17]

As Jane Tylus has emphasized, one aspect of Catherine's career in which Caffarini departed from Raymond was in his emphasis on Catherine as a writer.[18] He paid special attention to a letter in which Catherine, writing to Raymond, announces that she has miraculously learned to write and has written the letter in her own hand, and he reports having seen several examples of texts written by Catherine herself.[19] This emphasis is perhaps in keeping with Caffarini's role as a disseminator of Catherine's writings. Partly as a result of the work of his scriptorium, Catherine's writings—especially her letters—circulated in a variety of manuscript forms in the rich vernacular literary culture of quattrocento Italy.[20] The reception of Catherine as a prominent vernacular author culminated in 1500 in a comprehensive edition of Catherine's letters by the famous Venetian printer Aldus Manutius (1449–1515). While Aldus in a dedicatory letter invoked Catherine's voice in order to reform morals, and recommended Catherine as an antidote to the current taste for profane literature, his edition of the letters seems to have helped enshrine Catherine in the canon of vernacular literature. Thus, along with her influence as a mystic and ascetic in religious circles, we also find Catherine's letters included, for example, in a mid-16th-century catalogue of books of "translated letters" a scholarly humanist ought to possess.[21]

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[17] On Catherine as a model for Italian women religious, especially Dominican tertiaries, in the Cinquacento, see Gabriella Zarri, "Le sante vive: Per una tipologia della santità femminile nel primo Cinquecento," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 6 (1980), 371–445: "Il modello cateriniano costituisce il punto di riferimento costante della vita e dell'attività di gran parte delle 'sante vive' qui considerate" (p. 408).

[18] Jane Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Literature, and the Signs of Others* (Chicago, 2009), esp. pp. 57–58.

[19] He also reports having seen a prayer that Catherine wrote in her own hand; see Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, pp. 16–18.

[20] F. Thomas Luongo, "Saintly Authorship in the Italian Renaissance. The Quattrocento Reception of Catherine of Siena's Letters," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 9 (2005), 1–29.

[21] Anton Francesco Doni, *La Libreria del Doni*, ed. Vanni Bramanti (Milan, 1972), p. 195; Karen Scott, "*Io Caterina*. Ecclesiastical Politics and Oral Culture in the Letters

Not surprisingly, after Florentine political rule was added to cultural domination of Siena in the middle of the 16th century, Catherine became the subject for patriotic feeling and a representative of a properly Sienese literary culture. The first revision of Aldus's edition of Catherine's letters was by the Sienese scholar Girolamo Gigli (1660–1722), who sought to use Catherine as an authority for asserting the excellence of the Sienese vernacular as compared to the Florentine.[22] Gigli also compiled the *Vocabolario Cateriniano*, in which he used Catherine—"our virginal Sienese dove"—as an authority for the legitimacy of a list of expressions not accepted by the Florentine Accademia della Crusca. The book was correctly interpreted as an attack on Florentine cultural and political hegemony: it was censured and Gigli exiled.[23]

Catherine's engagement in worldly politics was never completely absent from her reputation. Her zeal for the crusade was a theme that resonated, for example, in Pius II's declaration of her canonization and in Aldus's dedicatory letter to his edition of her letters. But Catherine's connection to large-scale political causes became a chief feature of her reputation in Risorgimento and post-Risorgimento Italy. Her authorial status and her heroic reputation as the woman who brought the pope back to Rome were combined as Catherine was adopted as a Catholic emblem for a united Italy and as a hero around which to reconcile Catholic and anti-clerical groups. The dream of a Catholic nationalism can be discerned behind the still-useful 1856 study of Catherine's relations with the papacy by the liberal Catholic cleric (and eventually cardinal) Alfonso Capecelatro (1824–1912).[24] The nationalist exaltation of Catherine is most dramatic in the writings of Niccolò Tommaseo (1802–74), who in 1860 attempted a new ordering of Catherine's letters into chronological sequence. Tommaseo's polemical program is clear from the textual notes to his edition of the letters, in which he repeatedly cites expressions of Catherine's to

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of Catherine of Siena," in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, eds. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 89.

[22] Catherine of Siena. *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Girolamo Gigli, 4 vols (Siena, Lucca, 1707–21).

[23] Girolamo Gigli, *Vocabolario Cateriniano del dialetto sanese* (Siena and Lucca, 1717), p. cclxxvi; Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, p. 7. On Gigli's program for the Sienese vernacular, see Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, Chapter 1.

[24] Alfonso Capecelatro, *Storia di santa Caterina da Siena e del papato del suo tempo*, 4th ed. (Siena, 1878).

compare her poetic skills favorably to those of Dante and Virgil, and in his ecstatic praise of the saint. For Tommaseo, Catherine deserved to be praised in the epic terms Virgil used of the warrior-princess Camilla: *O decus Italiae, virgo* [O Virgin, glory of Italy].[25] Tommaseo's edition of the letters provided impetus (and material) for Italian scholars in the late 19th and early 20th century to embrace enthusiastically Catherine's most grand political themes: the return of the papacy to Rome, peace in Italy, and the crusade as an means for unity in Europe.[26]

As Gerald Parsons has shown, the promotion of Catherine as a patron saint of Italy intensified in the first two decades of the 20th century, culminating in her embrace by Catholic fascists as an emblem of heroic Italian virtues and "Romanità."[27] A key figure in this development was the Sienese scholar Piero Misciattelli, who published an extended discussion of Catherine's political activity in his 1913 work, *Mistici Senesi*, as well as a reissue of Tommaseo's edition of Catherine's letters in 1922, in which he appealed to Catherine's campaign for peace in 14th-century Italy as an antidote to political division in contemporary Italy. Misciattelli and others also enlisted Catherine's crusade rhetoric in support of Italian militarism, understood as a campaign for peace in Christian Europe against "Asiatic" Bolshevism. Catherine was proposed by several authors as a precursor to Mussolini in restoring Italian and Roman ideals to Italy. During the Second World War, Catherine, who "looked benignly upon the re-conquest of an Italian empire in which her own ideals of faith and nation were expressed," was invoked as a patron the Italy and especially of the members of the Italian armed forces.[28] A collection of excerpts from her writings was published jointly by the Accademia degli Intronati of Siena and the Rome-based Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani in a small volume intended for soldiers; the excerpts were divided into three sections to correspond to Mussolini's slogan, "Believe, obey,

[25] *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte con proemio e note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, ed. Niccolò Tommaseo, 4 vols (Florence, 1860), 1:clxxx. (The quotation is from Aeneid, XI: 508.) Also see Massimo Zaggia, "Varia fortuna editoriale delle Lettere di Caterina da Siena," in *Dire l'ineffabile: Caterina da Siena e il linguaggio della mistica*, eds. Lino Leonardi and Pietro Trifone, La mistica cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente 5 (Florence, 2006), pp. 127–87.

[26] Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena*, p. 47ff.

[27] Ibid., ch. 2.

[28] Ibid., p. 72.

fight."[29] A typical example of the way in which Catherinian scholarship was infected with the overheated rhetoric of the fascist period can be found in a 1929 essay by the Dominican scholar Innocenzo Taurisano (1866–1960) on the return of the papacy to Rome:

> In an Italy without peace, without the pope, battered by plague, hunger, and fratricidal wars, Catherine of Siena shoots forth like a rainbow, and combining in herself all the virtues of our Latin blood… [and] full of that practical sense and that sense of the universal that is at the base of every Italian soul, seeks with divine support to stem the tide, reconstruct, and prepare a luminous tomorrow for the Church and for Italy.[30]

The embrace of Catherine of Siena as a proto-fascist, and the application of her writings on the return of the pope to Rome, peace in Italy, and the Crusade to the cause of Italian nationalism and military adventurism might seem so absurdly anachronistic as to be beyond serious consideration. But Catherine's persona during the fascist period is an important episode in her historical reception, for at least two reasons. First, it was in this context that a number of Catherinian scholarly enterprises were launched in Italy: the *Società internazionale di studi Cateriniani*, the journal *Studi Cateriniani*, and the *Cattedra Cateriniana* at the University of Siena.[31] Second, and more important, just as Italian society after the war reacted against fascist ideology, proponents of Catherine of Siena seem to have sought to distance her from the political associations of the fascist period—sometimes to the extent of distancing her from politics in general.

The first and most important reaction to the vision of Catherine as a heroic political figure (in an Italian or any context) came from the French historian Robert Fawtier, whose iconoclastic studies of Catherine in the 1920s and 1930s set the terms for much scholarly discussion of Catherine in the 20th century.[32] Fawtier responded to the

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[29] Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena*, p. 91.

[30] See Innocenzo Taurisano, "S. Caterina ed il ritorno del Papato a Roma," *Memorie Domenicane* (1929), fasc. 2, p. 107: "[In] un'Italia senza pace, senza Pontefice, battuta dalla peste, dalla fame e dalle guerre fratricide, spunta come arcobaleno Caterina da Siena, che assommando in sé tutte le virtù del nostro sangue latino, seguita da un gruppo di discepoli, tanto inferiori a Lei, piena di quel senso pratico e di quel senso dell'universale che è in fondo ad ogni anima italiana, cerca, appoggiata sul divino, di arginare, ricostruire e preparare un luminoso domani per la Chiesa e per l'Italia."

[31] Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena*, pp. 51–55.

[32] Robert Fawtier, *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 1, *Sources hagiographiques* (Paris, 1921); id., *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 2, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne* (Paris, 1930).

excessive and often naive assumptions about Catherine's political role by attempting to establish by critical analysis the chronology of Catherine's career and writings, but also by launching a campaign in critical skepticism in which he attacked the accuracy of the hagiographical materials for details about Catherine's life and dismissed several of Catherine's more famous letters as forgeries. Behind Fawtier's attempt to recover "la véritable sainte Catherine de Sienne" was an *a priori* preference for a Catherine who was essentially private, without public interventions, conspicuous miracles, or authorship of important writings.[33] Fawtier accordingly sought to de-emphasize the features for which Catherine was famous, particularly her public role. Among his more audacious charges was that Catherine was some ten or more years older than Raymond of Capua claimed; that the Catherinian *epistolario* as a whole was untrustworthy; and that certain famous letters (for example, Catherine's description of the execution of Niccolò di Toldo, and her letter announcing that she has learned to write) were complete forgeries by Catherine's hagiographers, especially Caffarini. Many of Fawtier's more radical conclusions are overdetermined and based on misreadings of textual and archival evidence, and in any case he eventually moderated some of his views.[34] But his attack on the

[33] A less exalted picture of Catherine clearly reflected Fawtier's own values. See, for instance, his remarks in the conclusion to the second volume of *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Sources hagiographiques* (p. 362): "Nous souhaitons que nos études contribuent à faire apparaître, à travers le personnage créé par ses hagiographes, la véritable sainte Catherine de Sienne. Elle plaira peut-être moins aux docteurs et à ceux pour qui le succès est tout, mais elle sera plus conforme à la vérité. Etant plus vraie, elle sera plus humaine; étant humaine, sa sainteté n'est apparaître mieux et attirera plus. Car la sainteté n'est pas le fait des politiciens et des diplomates et rarement celui des docteurs. C'est le privilège des âmes d'élite pour qui comptent peu les honneurs et la science, mais dont le coeur est rempli de l'amour de Dieu et des hommes. "Qui a amour a douleur," a écrit sainte Catherine. C'est par l'amour et la souffrance que les âmes arrivent à Dieu. C'est là et là seulement qu'est la sainteté, non dans la théologie et dans la politique" [We hope that our studies contribute to the appearance, through the personage created by her hagiographers, of the true Catherine of Siena. Perhaps she will please less the doctors and those for whom success is everything, but she will conform more to the truth. Being more true, she will be more human; being human, her sanctity will only be more evident and she will draw more to her. For sanctity is not a matter for politicians and diplomats, and rarely even for doctors. It is the privilege of those elite souls for whom honors and knowledge count for little, but whose hearts are full of the love of God and of men. "He who has love, has pain," wrote Saint Catherine. It is through love and suffering that souls reach God. There and only there is where sanctity resides, not in theology and politics].

[34] For example, Fawtier's claim that Catherine was much older than claimed by the hagiographical tradition was based on her name being attached to a list of women

established Catherine had the beneficial effect of prompting a critical response that clarified many details of Catherine's career as well as the process of the composition of her writings and the construction of their manuscript traditions. Dominican authors such as Edouard Jourdan, Pierre Mandonnet, and M.-H. Laurent, as well as lay scholars such as Eugenio Dupré Theseider, reacted and focused on the verification and rehabilitation of the hagiographical authorities.[35] Laurent and others began a project of publishing critical editions of the Catherinian hagiographical sources, as well as other sources useful for details of her life (for example, the Necrology of the Sienese convent of S. Domenico), as part of a new critical attention to Catherine's life in the series Fontes vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici.[36] In response to the issues of textual criticism raised in the Fawtier's *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 2, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, Dupré Theseider issued several studies of the manuscript tradition of Catherine's writings and began a modern critical edition of her letters, of which he lived to publish only the first volume, in 1940.[37]

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enrolled among the Sienese *mantellate*. The preamble to the list is dated 1352, so Fawtier concluded that Catherine had entered that group at least ten years earlier than Raymond of Capua had claimed. But analysis of the document itself makes it clear that only the preamble and the first group of names were written in 1352; the other names were added in groups for at least the two subsequent decades. For Fawtier's later views, see Robert Fawtier and Louis Canet, *La double expérience di Catherine Benincasa* (Paris, 1948).

[35] This scholarship is summed up comprehensively in Dupré Theseider, "Caterina da Siena." See, for example, Edouard Jourdan, "La date de naissance de sainte Catherine de Sienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922), 365–411; Pierre Mandonnet, "Sainte Catherine de Sienne et la critique historique," *Année dominicaine* 59 (1923), 6–17, 43–52; Dupré Theseider, "Il supplizio di Niccolò di Toldo," *Bulletino senese di storia patria* 12 (1935), 162–64; id., "La duplice esperienza di Santa Caterina da Siena," *Rivista storia italiana* 62 (1950), 533–74; *Documenti*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici, 1 (Florence, 1936). See also Innocenzo Taurisano, "Le fonti agiografiche cateriniane e la critica di R. Fawtier," *Letture cateriniane* 1 (1928), 311–82.

[36] *I Necrologi di San Domenico in Camporegio (Epoca Cateriniana)*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici 20 (Florence, 1937).

[37] Catherine of Siena, *Epistolario di Santa Caterina*, vol. 1, ed. Eugenio Dupré Theseider, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dal R. Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo 82, Epistolari, secolo XIV (Rome, 1940). In addition to the introduction to his edition of Catherine's letters, Dupré Theseider's fullest discussion of the manuscript tradition of Catherine's letters is in "Il problema critico delle lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 69 (1933), 117–278.

This return to the sources was fruitful in setting aside the anachronisms and distortions that dominated Italian treatment of Catherine as *Patrona d'Italia* from the Risorgimento through the fascist period and World War II. But with few exceptions, Catherinian studies in the decades after World War II seem to have assimilated Fawtier's statement of an essential dichotomy between Catherine's public and private selves, and little attempt was made to place Catherine in a social or political context. Reaction against the politicized Catherine of the first half of the century is surely part of the reason for this change, and probably also helps to explain what seems to be a relative disinterest in Catherine on the part of the secular historical and literary-critical establishment that persists to this day. The post-war period saw a greater interest in Catherine as a thinker, even as a theologian, a tendency that was given greater impetus by her being named a Doctor of the Church in 1970.[38] There has also been some fruitful, if doctrinaire, inquiry into the sources that influenced Catherine's writing, studies that begin to lay the groundwork for a real appreciation of the complexity of her relationship to a variety of sources and models. For example, Alvaro Grion argued in 1953 for a more complex understanding of the sources on which Catherine's teachings were based and—against the assumption of the Dominican character of her thought—emphasized the influence of Franciscans, and particularly Ubertino da Casale.[39] Scholars have also treated Catherine as a political or social theorist on such issues as the Crusade and peace.[40] And

[38] This can be seen by surveying the volumes of the two Catherinian periodicals, *Nuovi studi Cateriniani* and *Quaderni Cateriniani* as well as the papers contained in the proceedings from major Catherinian conferences edited by Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi: *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi cateriniani, Siena-Roma 24–29 aprile 1980* (Rome, 1981); and *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano, Siena, 17–20 Aprile 1980* (Siena, 1982).

[39] Alvaro Grion, *Santa Caterina da Siena, dottrina e fonti* (Brescia, 1953). This thread in Catherinian studies was taken up again by Giacinto D'Urso in *Il genio di santa Caterina: Studi sulla sua dottrina e personalità* (Rome, 1971), who argued for Catherine's identity as a Dominican intellectual; and by Benedict Hackett in *William Flete, OSA and Catherine of Siena: Masters of Fourteenth-Century Spirituality*, The Augustinian Series 15 (Villanova, 1992), who emphasized the influence of Augustinians, and of Augustine himself, on Catherine.

[40] For example, Paul Rousset, "Sainte Catherine de Sienne et la problème de la croisade," *Revue suisse d'histoire* 25.4 (1975), 499–513; id., "L'idée de croisade chez sainte Catherine de Sienne et chez les théoriciens du XIVe siècle," in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi Cateriniani*, pp. 363–72; and Giorgio Petrocchi, "La *pace* in S. Caterina da Siena," in *La pace nel pensiero, nella politica, negli ideali del trecento.*

Catherine has figured in discussions of the prophetic culture of the late Middle Ages, with some disagreement over the extent to which her writings should be considered "prophetic."[41]

But with very few exceptions, Catherinian scholarship has not addressed with any specificity or depth Catherine's relationship to the public, political culture of her day.[42] Neither does Catherine figure much at all in histories of *trecento* Italian politics, even Sienese politics, despite recent interest in the role of religious authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Italian civic politics and emerging states.[43] Similarly, Catherine has almost never been treated as part of the same world as contemporaries such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Coluccio Salutati—men associated with the late-medieval cultural movement retrospectively known as the Italian Renaissance—despite the fact that her network included men who were also part of Petrarch's Florentine circle. Narrow and gendered definitions of "Renaissance" and "humanism" have excluded Catherine from the narrative of the cultural movements of her time.[44] Assumptions about the secular nature

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13–16 ottobre 1974, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 15 (Todi, 1975), pp. 11–26.

[41] Marjorie Reeves placed Catherine within the late-medieval tradition of Joachimite thought; see *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), p. 422. At the same time, Dupré Theseider was right to point out that Catherine's writings do not typically contain overtly prophetic content; see "L'attesa escatologica durante il periodo avignonese," in *L'attesa dell'età nuova nella spiritualità della fine del Medioevo*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 3 (Todi, 1962), pp. 67–126, especially, p. 119. But Roberto Rusconi probably went too far in arguing that Catherine had no connection to the late-medieval culture of prophetic speech, and that her prophetic reputation was purely an invention of her followers; see Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: Crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'Occidente (1378–1417)* (Rome, 1979), pp. 27–34.

[42] Exceptions include two essays by Franco Cardini: "Caterina da Siena, la repubblica di Firenze e la lega antipontificia. Schede per una riconsiderazione," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 89 (1982), 300–25; and "L'idea di crociata in S. Caterina da Siena," in *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano*, eds. Maffei and Nardi (Siena, 1982), pp. 57–87.

[43] See for example Giovanni Miccoli, "La storia religiosa," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 2 of *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII* (Turin, 1974); and Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980); David S. Peterson, "State-Building, Church Reform, and the Politics of Legitimacy in Florence, 1375–1460," in *Florentine Tuscany. Structures and Practices of Power*, eds. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (New York, 2000), pp. 122–43; and id., "Out of the Margins. Religion and the Church in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000), 835–79.

[44] Jane Tylus, "Caterina da Siena and the Legacy of Humanism," in *Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History. Essays in Honor of Nancy S. Struever*, eds. Joseph Marino and Melinda W. Schlitt (Rochester, 2001), pp. 116–41.

of 14th- and 15th-century Italian culture have been corrected in the last 30 years by studies of the role of piety in humanism by Paul Oskar Kristeller, Salvatore Camporeale, Nancy Struever, Charles Trinkaus, and others; and by studies of the role of religion and ritual in Italian civic culture by such scholars as Richard Trexler, John Henderson, and Edward Muir.[45] But interest in the Renaissance and humanist religion has included only certain kinds of religious expression, and those mostly the preserve of men, a gendering of the Renaissance as male that is supported by the pervasive association of Renaissance culture with Latin humanism and the *studia humanitatis*.[46] The exclusion of the vernacular not only rules out the language in which Catherine and most literate women of the period functioned but also sets up an artificial barrier in a Tuscan book culture in which the texts favored by the humanists were read also in Italian vernacular translation by cultivated merchants.

The fact that Catherine continues to be studied apart from what are considered the main political and cultural developments of her day is also linked to the considerable recent work on late medieval and early modern religious women and feminine religiosity, scholarship that has succeeded in creating for itself an autonomous place within the historical discipline. Catherine is a prominent point of reference in the last two decades' wave of scholarship on religious women in medieval and early modern Italy, including the work of such scholars as Anna Benvenuti Papi, Gabriella Zarri, Roberto Rusconi, and Daniel Bornstein.[47] A large number of individual studies and conference

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[45] For example, Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (Notre Dame, 1970); Salvatore Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e teologia* (Florence, 1972); Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning* (Durham, N.C., 1974); Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981); id., "The Virgin on the Street Corner. The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Steven Ozment (Kirksville, Mo., 1989); Ronald F.E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1982); Nancy Struever, *Theory as Practice: Ethical Inquiry in the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1990); *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, eds. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, N.Y., 1990); Daniel Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Chicago, 1994).

[46] Ronald Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden, 2000).

[47] Anna Benvenuti Papi, *"In castro poenitentiae." santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale*, Italia Sacra 45 (Rome, 1990); *Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale*,

proceedings have addressed individual saints; local and regional cults; and the legal/institutional situation of religious and quasi-religious associations of pious women in Italian cities.[48] Catherine also surfaces frequently in broader studies as an important exemplar of female eucharistic piety, asceticism, and visionary religiosity, as in André Vauchez's landmark studies of medieval canonization and lay piety.[49] Above all, Catherine's emergence as a saint exemplifies what some scholars have presented as a "feminized" religious culture in the later Middle Ages, a characterization that has received its most brilliant and persuasive treatment in the works of Caroline Walker Bynum.[50] The Catherinian hagiography and Catherine's writings evoke the themes Bynum emphasizes: association of the feminine with fleshly *imitatio Christi*; the embrace by religious women of spiritual versions of

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eds. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Naples, 1992); available in revised form in English as *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1996); Gabriella Zarri, *Le sante vive: Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500* (Turin, 1990), especially, chap. 2: "Pietà e profezia alle corti padane: Le pie consigliere dei principi," and chap. 3: "Le sante vive."

[48] See the excellent introduction to this scholarship in Daniel Bornstein, "Women and Religion in Late Medieval Italy: History and Historiography," in *Women and Religion*, eds. Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, pp. 1–27. Among the most notable Italian conferences focused on women's religiosity, see *Il movimento religioso femminile in Umbria nei secoli XIII–XIV: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio nell'ambito delle celebrazioni per l'VIII centenario della nascita di S. Francesco d'Assisi, Città di Castello, 27–29 ottobre 1982*, ed. Roberto Rusconi (Perugia, 1984); *Temi e problemi della mistica femminile trecentesca, Todi 14–17 ottobre 1979*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità 20 (Todi, 1983); *S. Chiara da Montefalco e il suo tempo: Atti del quarto convegno di studi storici ecclesiastici organizzato dall'Arcidiocesi di Spoleto, Spoleto 28–30 dicembre 1981*, eds. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Florence, 1985). Among important collections in English are *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor, 1992); *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994); and *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

[49] André Vauchez, *Les laics au Moyen Age. Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris, 1987); English translation, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993); id., *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècle du Moyen Âge d'apres les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981); English translation, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrel (Cambridge and New York, 1997); and id., *La spiritualité du moyen âge occidental* (Vendôme, 1975).

[50] Especially the immensely influential *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987). See also her "'And Women His Humanity.' Female Imagery in the Religious Writings of the Later Middle Ages," in her *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), pp. 151–79.

mundane female social roles (i.e., Catherine as *mamma* to her followers); and extreme asceticism accompanied by a preoccupation with spiritual images of food and feeding (for Catherine, conversion was "eating souls"). At the same time, the very success of this scholarship has tended to throw together women of very different backgrounds and social experiences, approached always through the *a priori* category "religious women," in isolation from the cultural, economic, and political aspects of their particular social locations. The inadvertent effect has been to reinforce the image of Catherine existing at a distance (prophetic or otherwise) from male politics and culture. It has become all too easy to know where to place Catherine in a historical narrative in which politics and literary culture are gendered male, and religious women and feminine religiosity occupy a space apart.[51]

The work of Karen Scott on Catherine deserves special mention here. From the early 1990s, Scott has produced a series of essays full of essential insights into the themes of Catherine's letters, in which she has explored the ground between Catherine's reputation as a religious contemplative and prophet, and historians' emphasis on the purely political aspects of her career.[52] Scott has sought to shift attention to Catherine's letters as a source for her self-understanding in opposition to hagiographical accounts. And she has seen Catherine's active, public life a form of spirituality or religious engagement, rather than the larger social and political commitments (the return of the pope to Rome, the Crusade, Italian unity) that would have constituted

[51] Tylus, "Caterina da Siena and the Legacy of Humanism," p. 119: "The otherwise welcome spate of studies on medieval women and religion in Italy has tended to generate a picture in scholarship in which humanism is gendered as generally male and late medieval religion as feminine if not female."

[52] See the following works by Karen Scott: "'This is Why I Have Put You among Your Neighbors.' St Bernard's and St Catherine's Understanding of the Love of God and Neighbor," in *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano*, pp. 279–94; "St Catherine of Siena, *Apostola*," *Church History* 61.1 (1992), 34–46; "*Io Caterina*: Ecclesiastical Politics and Oral Culture in the Letters of Catherine of Siena," in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, eds. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus (1993), pp. 87–121; "Urban Spaces, Women's Networks, and the Lay Apostolate in the Siena of Catherine Benincasa," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, eds. Matter and Coakley, pp. 105–19; "Mystical Death, Bodily Death: Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua on the Mystic's Encounter with God," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 136–67; and "Catherine of Siena and Lay Sanctity in Fourteenth-Century Italy," in *Lay Sanctity, Medieval and Modern. A Search for Models*, ed. Ann Astell (Notre Dame, Ind., 2000), pp. 77–90.

Catherine's public life for an earlier Catherinian historiography. Scott's vision of Catherine as an "illiterate lay mystic and activist" fits in well with a post-Vatican II emphasis on the active life and new valuation of the lay apostolate, and is in many ways more accurate (and spiritually edifying) than the more grandiose terms of her traditional cult.[53] At the same time, Catherine was not simply a layperson.[54] And Catherine herself sometimes claimed authority in terms that justify the heroic image. After all, this is a young woman who identified herself in her letters with the super-papal title of "servant and slave of the servants of God" and who did not hesitate to claim a privileged relationship with God as her authority to upbraid the pope, Gregory XI, among others, for delaying his return to Rome and for flawed leadership in Italian affairs. Above all, it is difficult to see how to reconcile Scott's insistence on Catherine's illiteracy and preference for oral rather than written communication (her "basic mentality remained that of an illiterate person") with the evidence for Catherine's vernacular literacy and the extraordinary engagement with writing and texts that marked her career.[55]

Indeed, among saintly women in later medieval culture, Catherine's career involved an almost unique engagement in the practice of writing, and her use of the personal letter as a favored genre of writing had no precedent among female religious figures in Italian history. Rather than explore the relationship between Catherine's reputation as an inspired prophetess or mystic and her intense and continuous engagement with literature, studies of Catherine's writings have tended simply to set her texts apart from literature ordinarily understood, and forestalled inquiry into the relationship of her writings to the larger culture of her time. Catherine and her writings have almost always been treated as essentially estranged from the world of literature and "ordinary" texts. The features of Catherine's reputation that allowed Raymond of Capua to place Catherine beyond or above ordinary knowledge and writing—her status as a woman and the inspired nature of her texts—

[53] Scott, "Mystical Death, Bodily Death," p. 136.

[54] Catherine's precise canonical status is not relevant here: Catherine traveled under the protection of the Dominican order and of the papacy, and her contemporaries clearly recognized her as religious. Moreover she asserted this identity on some occasions, for instance, when while residing with the Salimbeni family in 1377, she refused the demands of the Sienese magistrates that she return to Siena. On the issue of Catherine's status, see also Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, pp. 11–12.

[55] Scott, "*Io Caterina*," p. 113.

have usually caused modern critics to see Catherine as other than an author. This includes the dismissive assessment of her poetic skills by Risorgimento and post-Risorgimento critics such as De Sanctis, Croce, and Sapegno, for whom Catherine was capable of moments of intuitive or spontaneous poetry, but was on the whole lacking entirely in poetic craft.[56] It is reasonable to suspect that this negative assessment was to some degree a reaction to the national cult of Catherine as it developed in the post-Risorgimento period and early 20th century, and the overstatements of her champions such as Tommaseo and Misciattelli. But critics more friendly to Catherine—such as Giovanni Getto, Vittore Branca, and Giorgio Petrocchi—have also imposed a variety of categories on Catherine's writings that set her apart from ordinary literature. Her writings are essentially "female" (Getto and Branca), "oratorical" (Petrocchi), and "mystical" (Getto).[57] Getto's interpretation of Catherine's letters is rich with fundamental insights into the character of her writings, and his abundantly enthusiastic interpretation of Catherine's writings has decisively influenced subsequent readings. Getto urged that Catherine's letters be read exclusively for their mystical content and evidence of her spiritual experience, explicitly setting aside historical and other mundane elements.[58] For Getto, the historical situations that prompted Catherine's letters were merely incidental, and the epistolary form a mere container of mystic, spiritual insights, and so Getto's interpretation has helped forestall inquiry into Catherine's letters as a cultural project.

One symptom of Catherine's alienation from Italian literature is that there still exists no complete, modern critical edition of her letters. Eugenio Dupré Theseider published a single volume of a proposed four-volume critical edition of the letters in 1940. This volume, with some revisions, was translated into English by Suzanne Noffke in 1988,

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[56] Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Niccolò Gallo (Turin, 1958); Benedetto Croce, "Letteratura del Trecento. Letteratura di devozione," *La Critica*, 3rd ser. 29 (1931), 1–22; and Natalino Sapegno, *Scrittori d'Italia. Antologia per lo studio della letteratura italiana nelle scuole medie superiori* (Florence, 1967), p. 422.

[57] Vittore Branca, *I mistici: Fioretti di San Francesco, Lettere di Santa Caterina* (Milan, 1964); Giovanni Getto, *Letteratura religiosa del trecento* (Florence, 1967), pp. 107–267 ("L'intuizione mistica e l'espressione letteraria di Caterina da Siena"); Giorgio Petrocchi, "La letteratura religiosa del trecento," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, eds. Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno, vol. 2 of *Il Trecento* (Milan, 1965), pp. 637–82.

[58] Getto, "L'intuizione mistica."

again as part of a planned four-volume series.[59] The Italian scholar Antonio Volpato has attempted to take up and continue Dupré Theseider's work in order to produce a complete critical edition of the letters. While no critical edition has yet appeared in print, Volpato has issued, as part of a CD-ROM collection of Catherine's writings, a newly edited text of the letters, but without annotations or reference to textual variants.[60] (It is typical of Catherine's peculiar status in Italian scholarship that in spite of her prominence and importance as a literary figure—on linguistic grounds at least—work on her texts has proceeded in this way largely beyond ordinary scholarly review, and the most authoritative text of the letters can be purchased at the postcard stand in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, but not in bookstores.) In the meantime, Suzanne Noffke has continued her own work on the letters, employing linguistic analysis to stabilize their chronology and translating the remaining letters into English from working editions based on especially authoritative manuscripts. In 2000, Noffke issued a new first volume of the letters, including 70 letters, with original commentary and a chronological order slightly different from that in Dupré Theseider's edition. She subsequently has published three additional volumes that include all of Catherine's known letters.[61] Thus we have the ironic situation of a translation into English of something approximating an annotated critical edition of Catherine's letters, including attention to textual variations, before a critical edition is available in print in Italian.

More recently, several studies have sought to examine the social and political meaning of Catherine's career, examine more critically the "saintly situation" in which she emerged as a public figure, and take her writings seriously within the literary culture of the late 14th century. Catherine is featured, for example, in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski's analysis of the visionary culture of the Great Schism.[62] F. Thomas Luongo's *Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* focuses on Catherine's

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[59] *The Letters of St Catherine of Siena*, trans. Suzanne Noffke (Binghamton, N.Y., 1988).

[60] Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Antonio Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Fausto Sbaffoni (Pistoia, 2002).

[61] Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, trans. and ed. by Suzanne Noffke, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 4 vols (Tempe, 2000–08).

[62] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006).

career through the end of the War of the Eight Saints and uses archival sources as well as Catherine's letters to situate Catherine's spiritual authority and sanctity within contemporary political and cultural developments. Luongo suggests revisions of the conventional understanding of the chronology and meaning of Catherine's religious vocation, as well as the social and political standing of her family and associates. He argues that Catherine's emergence into a public role was due to the political situation of the Church in Italy as well as to a culture that privileged female spirituality and prophetic speech. This is counter to a hagiographical tradition and historiography that has placed Catherine as a mystic removed from the politics of her day. For Luongo, Catherine's public authority was shaped by politics, both locally in Siena and broadly within the late 14th-century contests between the papacy and the Republic of Florence for hegemony in central Italy.

Any attempt to understand Catherine's career must address with some sophistication the hagiographic construction of her reputation. Catherine has too often been read simply through the terms set by Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior*; alternately, scholars since Fawtier have sometimes tried to find a Catherine isolated from her hagiographical reputation. John Coakley, in contrast, in a study of female saints and their male confessors, has attempted a more complex assessment of Raymond's agenda as well as the interplay between Raymond's perception of Catherine and Catherine's portrayal of herself.[63] Fawtier, his conspiracy theories aside, was undoubtedly correct to emphasize the role Caffarini played in the construction of Catherine's saintly reputation. Recent research by Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner and Silvia Nocentini has helped clarify Caffarini's role and cast new light on some aspects of Catherine's career. Lehmijoki-Gardner has shown that what was represented by Caffarini as the rule of the Order of Penance was in fact an early 15th-century invention. While Catherine is usually counted as a member of the Dominican "Order of Penance" or "Third Order," Lehmijoki-Gardner has revealed that the group of Sienese female penitents that Catherine joined had no such formal status.[64] In addition to a critical edition of Raymond of Capua's first

[63] See note 11, above, for the bibliographical details of this study by Coakley.

[64] Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process." Also see *Dominican Penitent Women*, edited by Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, with contributions from Daniel Bornstein and E. Ann Matter (New York, 2005), which includes documents connected to the history of the penitents and important texts by Caffarini, as well as the earliest surviving hagiographic account of Catherine: the

work of hagiography, a life of Agnes of Montepulciano, Nocentini has produced one of the very few close studies of the work of Caffarini in Venice and its impact on Catherine's reputation.[65] Among her most important discoveries is the fact the manuscripts of Raymond's *Legenda* produced by Caffarini's scriptorium include bits from Caffarini's writings on Catherine, adding, for instance, explicit reference to Catherine's writing that was not in Raymond's original but which subsequently circulated under Raymond's authority.

Finally, recent literary-critical interventions have taken Catherine more seriously as an author and shown ways out of the dead ends of earlier critical perspectives. Marina Zancan's definitive introduction to Catherine's letters, included in a prominent survey of Italian literature, argues for Catherine's relationship to writing as a fundamental feature of her career.[66] Giulia Ferrone has written perceptively on Catherine's manipulation of epistolary discourse in her letters.[67] More recently, several of the essays in the 2006 conference proceedings *Dire l'ineffabile* reassess Catherine's attitude towards writing as well as the role of her relation to the written word in her reputation.[68] But an even more dramatic reassessment of Catherine and her relationship to literary culture can be found in Jane Tylus's *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*. In making a case for Catherine alongside the founding figures of Italian literature like Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, Tylus has in some ways returned to the pre-20th-century vision of Catherine's cultural status of Gigli and Tommaseo. Indeed, she gives an account of the vicissitudes of Catherine's reception by scholars in the early modern

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Miracoli, written by an unknown Florentine during Catherine's lifetime. On the question of Catherine's religious status and its hagiographical representation, see also F. Thomas Luongo, "Cloistering Catherine. Religious Identity in Raymond of Capua's *Legenda Maior* of Catherine of Siena," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s. 3 (2006).

[65] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda beate Agnetis de Monte Pulciano*, ed. Silvia Nocentini (Florence, 2001); Nocentini "Lo *scriptorium* di Tommaso Caffarini a Venezia."

[66] Marina Zancan, "Lettere di Caterina da Siena," in *Letteratura italiana: Le opere*, vol. 1, *Dalle origini al cinquacento*, dir. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin, 1992), pp. 593–633; also "Lettere di Caterina da Siena. Il testo, la tradizione, l'interpretazione," *Annali d'Italianistica* 13 (1995), 151–61.

[67] Giulio Ferroni, "L'io e gli altri nelle *Lettere* di Caterina da Siena," in *Les femmes écrivains en Italie au Moyen Âge e à la Renaissance* (Aix-en-Provence, 1994), pp. 139–56.

[68] *Dire l'ineffabile: Caterina da Siena e il linguaggio della mistica. Atti del Convegno. Siena, 13 e 14 novembre 2003*, eds. Lino Leonardi and Pietro Trifone, La mistica cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente 5 (Florence, 2006); see the essays by Francesco Santi, Rita Librandi, Lino Leonardi, Giovanni Frosini, Massimo Zaggia, and Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli.

period that includes a reappraisal of Gigli's case for Catherine's Sienese vernacular that recovers for that Sienese scholar and patriot an importance that he has not generally been granted. Tylus reads Catherine with sensitivity to the interplay between orality and textuality in her letters in order to argue—provocatively—for an understanding of Catherine as an author with a self-conscious commitment to her vernacular as a literary language. It is possible that Tylus overstates Catherine's explicit commitment to the literary issues this book highlights and the extent of Catherine's self-awareness concerning literary craft. But Tylus does effectively shift the terms of discussion away from sterile questions about Catherine's literacy and traditional assumptions about Catherine's distance from the rich vernacular literary culture of late medieval Italy.

In conclusion, it is perhaps becoming easier to confront Catherine's public career as the triumphalist vision of Catherine of the late 19th and first half of the 20th century recede from recent memory into history. After all, for all the distortions and anachronism of scholarship influenced by Catherine's cult as *Patrona d'Italia*, that scholarship was right in placing Catherine at the center of political and cultural movements of her time, whether one treats Catherine's engagement in public life as political activity or part of her social apostolate, and whether or not Catherine is to be considered an author in the same way as Dante or Petrarch. Further study of Catherine of Siena must take account of Catherine in relationship to the social and political movements of her time, the late 14th-century culture of female sanctity and religiosity, and the rich vernacular literary culture of late medieval and Renaissance Italy.

CHAPTER TWO

FEMALE URBAN RECLUSION IN SIENA AT THE TIME OF CATHERINE OF SIENA

Allison Clark Thurber

In the year of Catherine's birth—1347—at least 230 individual hermits or *romite*—almost 80 per cent of whom were women—lived in and immediately around Siena.[1] The recluses retired to cells located at the edges of the urban periphery, near the city's gates and walls, often just within the protective enclosure of the city's walls. Although the female hermits were without order and official religious affiliation, they congregated in small groups on the city's edges, often next to mendicant priories, hospitals, female convents, and near the cells of established male hermits. While such urban hermits did not directly participate in the life of the city, they were seen as a vital element and thus deserved the city's support and attention. The communal government and private testators remembered their hermits through protective statutes, alms, and legacies. Various alms records permit a detailed reconstruction of the numbers and locations of hermits throughout the city for approximately a century—from 1274 to 1375.[2] The number of female hermits reached its peak in the years leading up to the Black Death. Although the immediate effects of the plague reduced the number of female hermits from 1347 to 1348 by almost 75 per cent, by the 1350s and 1360s there were between 60 and 80 female hermits still living in Siena.[3]

Thus, in the formative years of Catherine's religious vocation, she encountered and experienced all around her individual women living as hermits. This reality contextualizes Catherine's own decision

[1] Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter AS), Biccherna, vol. 221 (Dec. 1347), fols 154v–158v.

[2] AS, Biccherna, vols 56–256; AS, Casa della Misericordia, Protocolli, N. 17–19; AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 29 Oct. 1318; AS, Bichi Borghesi, L. 317, vol. 17 (25 July 1325); AS, Biblioteca Pubblica, 4 June 1332; and AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 11 Sept. 1335.

[3] See Figure 1 and discussion below.

as a young girl to live as a recluse in her father's house. Catherine's eventual preference for affiliation with the female penitent movement seems surprising given the popularity and prevalence of the practice of urban reclusion by women in Siena. However, by the late 14th century, the practice of urban reclusion in Siena was in decline and no longer received the same degree of support from the city's citizens and government.[4] Additionally, the popularity of Catherine likely drew pious-minded women throughout the city into the ambit of the penitent movement. A confluence of factors led to the eventual demise of the practice of urban reclusion throughout Italy, yet in Siena, it is hard not to at least partially equate its declining attractiveness with the ever-increasing popularity of Catherine despite the paradox of reclusion being at the very heart of Catherine's earliest religious impulses. Although the precise nature of Catherine's religious choices with respect to reclusion is telling, the discussion here will focus on the practice of urban reclusion in Siena in the 14th century as a way of understanding Catherine's immediate religious environment.

We learn about the practice of religious reclusion and the lives of individual recluses in Siena from alms records from the commune and private testators (the latter usually through the mediation of religious hospitals). The documentary sources refer to these urban hermits as *romite*, based upon an Italianization of the Latin term *haeromite* or hermit. Their most significant patron was the urban commune itself; the 1262 city statutes required semi-annual distribution of alms simply to all religious.[5] By the next surviving redaction of the city statutes in 1309–10 (in the vernacular), hermits were specifically called out: "And, to each enclosed hermit (female) in the city and the burgs next to the city up to half a mile, 20 soldi each year."[6] The commune of Siena was

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[4] After 1375, the commune no longer provided alms for religious individuals, including hermits. Religious bequests to hermits also decrease dramatically in this period—see Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore, 1988).

[5] *Il constituto del comune di Siena dell'anno 1262*, ed. Lodovico Zdekauer (Siena, 1896), Distinzione I, pp. 20–85.

[6] *Il costituto del comune di Siena volgarizzato nel 1309–1310*, ed. Alessandro Lisini (Siena, 1903), Distinzione I, p. 81. "Anco, a ciascuna romita rinchiusa ne la città et borghi presso a la città per uno mezzo million, XX. soldi di denari, ogne anno." Also see chap. 54, pp. 77–83. It is interesting to note that the commune provided for hermits outside their *contado* or jurisdiction, as a neighboring *contado* neglected them: "Anco, statuto et ordinate è, che conciò sia cosa che lo famoso et honesto romito, o vero inchiuso, el quale è ne la strada da Orgiale, per la quale si va ad Arezo, sia in

not unusual in its support of female hermits; the constitutions of other northern and central Italian communes—including Perugia, Foligno, Todi, Assisi, Spoleto, and Rimini—similarly protected and supported hermits.[7]

The Biccherna—the city's large financial ledger books of *entrata* and *uscita* (revenue and expenses) for each six-month period—provide a more detailed picture of the development of this phenomenon of urban reclusion and its popularity in Siena from the late 13th century through the late 14th century. It documents the emergence of communal support of hermits precisely.[8] Beginning in 1274, the

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grande necessità di vestimenta, imperciò ch li uomini de la detta contrada non provegono allui in pecunia, alcuna cosa, lo camarlèngo et iiii. proveditori del commune di Siena dieno tenuti et debiano, allui, de la pecunia del commune di Siena dare ogne anno del mese di dicembre, per auito di una gonnella, XL soldi de denari." Lisini, *Il constituto*, Distinzione I, p. 80. "Also, according to the statute it is prescribed that the camarlengo and the four providers of the commune of Siena provide, from the money of the commune of Siena, every year in the month of December, a tunic and 40 soldi, to the famous and honest hermit, or true recluse, who is located on the road from Orgiale that goes towards Arezzo, because he is in great need of clothing as the men of that neighborhood do not provide any money or anything for him."

[7] Giovanna Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale e città al tempo dei comuni* (Rome, 1995), p. 46. Also see Mario Sensi, "Incarcerate e penitenti a Foligno nella prima metà del Trecento," in *I frati penitenti di san Francesco nella società del Due e Trecento: Atti del 2° Convegno di Studi Francescani*, ed. Mariano d'Alatri (Rome, 1977), pp. 298–99. The synodal constitutions of the diocese of Gubbio similarly call for protection for hermits in the city of Gubbio. See Società per la Storia Ecclesiastica dell'Umbria, *Archivio per la storia ecclesiastica dell'Umbria* (Foligno, 1913), pp. 303, 339, 341.

[8] AS, Biccherna. The Biccherna records alms distributed by the commune to religious individuals and institutions beginning in 1262. By 1274, hermits were included among the religious; vols 56 (1274) to 261 (1375) contain records of alms to hermits and recluses, usually in the form of numbers of hermits in various locations throughout the city. For the 17-year period from 1337 to 1354, the volumes provide even more comprehensive information, including names as well as numbers and locations of hermits throughout the city. Each volume represents a six-month period and was copied in both Latin and Italian. The archival record for this century is mostly complete, with only the following years having no surviving record in either language: 1283, 1297, 1300–01, 1303–05, 1308, 1312–13, 1320, 1326, 1353, 1356, 1366–67, and 1370–71, for a total of 18 undocumented years out of a total of 101 years. Additionally, there are 13 years between 1274 and 1375—1298–99, 1349–50, 1358–65, and 1368—when the surviving Biccherna volumes do not include data on alms to hermits, either because the volume is damaged and the final folios where the alms records were always recorded are missing, or because alms were not given in those years. It is certainly not surprising that at moments of significant social disruption—for example, the years after the Black Death hit Siena (1348), or the years following the transfer of political power from the Nine (1356)—that the government was in the midst of too great an economic crisis to provide alms for the city's religious population. As there are two Biccherna volumes per year, the years listed above as either having no surviving Biccherna volume, or no record of alms to hermits, indicate an absence in both of the annual volumes. See AS,

commune included urban hermits within the ranks of the city's religious population, when each of 16 hermits received 10 soldi or half a lira.[9] Although the amount was trivial, the recognition and inclusion of this group suggested that their role within the religious life of the city was just as significant as that of other religious groups. The total sum given to hermits in this year—6 lire—was comparable to the amounts given to individual female monasteries. For example, by 1282, the amount given to hermits had doubled to 20 soldi or 1 lira, for a total expenditure of 59 lire (for a six-month period).[10] By 1291, each hermit received 30 soldi, for a total expense of over 110 lire.[11] Only the most important mendicant priories and female monasteries of the city received more than this in the late 13th century.[12] In 1344, the city's expenditure on urban hermits reached just over 350 lire—more than the 300 lire spent in that same six-month period on the construction of the city cathedral and almost three times as much as the Franciscans or Dominicans received.[13] On the eve of the Black Death's arrival in Italy, the number of urban hermits within and immediately surrounding the city was just over 230.[14] In June of 1348, just one month after the plague first hit Siena, the number of hermits diminished to 90—more than a 60 per cent reduction. For the next several years, the commune did not provide any religious alms at all; the Biccherna volumes are scant and demonstrate a significant diminishment of business and political activity resulting from the plague. One can only imagine that the government itself was barely functioning.[15] The commune resumed its practice of giving religious alms in 1351, noting 80 hermits citywide. By the mid-1350s, the number of hermits rose to 100 and remained at about that level for the two decades until

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Archivio della Biccherna del comune di Siena: Inventario, Pubblicazioni degli archivi di Stato 12 (Siena, 1953) for a bibliographic archival guide.

[9] AS, Biccherna, vol. 56 (1274), fols 33r–34r.

[10] AS, Biccherna, vol. 82 (1282), fols 141v–143v; vol. 84 (1282), fols 115r–117r.

[11] AS, Biccherna, vol. 104 (1291), fols 101v–103r; vol. 105 (1291), fols 104r–105v; vol. 106 (1291), fols 182r–183v.

[12] The Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Servites, three different female monasteries (S. Barnabus delle Fratelle, S. Petronilla, and S. Prospero), and the two major hospitals in the city (S. Maria della Scala and Casa della Misericordia) each received in the late 13th century alms of 50 lire every six months.

[13] AS, Biccherna, vol. 215 (1344), fols 161r–165r.

[14] AS, Biccherna, vol. 220 (1347), fol. 136v; vol. 221 (1347), fol. 157v.

[15] See William M. Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society," *Speculum* 39.1 (1964), 1–34, see especially 1–5, 14–16.

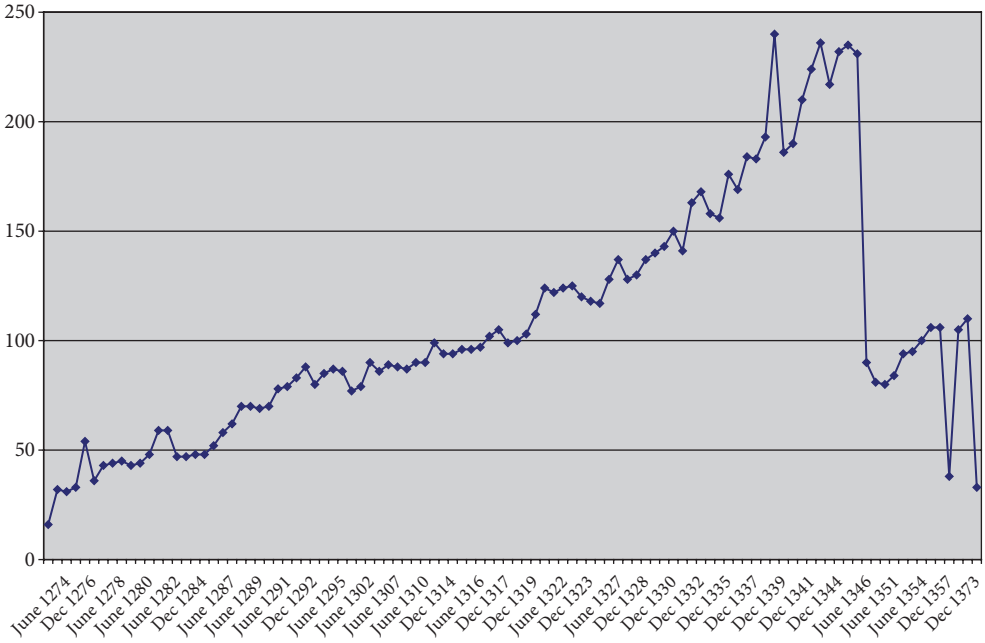

Figure 1. Hermits in Siena, 1274–1375

the mid-1370s, when the commune ceased providing alms to hermits (see Figure 1).[16]

Although Siena is not unusual in providing alms for hermits, the abundant records produced by the commune and preserved in the Biccherna permit the construction of a timeline of alms by the commune, noting the moments when the alms increase and documenting the shifting numbers of hermits over time. The scattered references in Italian scholarship to hermits living in other medieval Italian cities provide only snapshot insights—such as the number of hermits at a given moment in a given location—but do not provide sufficient information to suggest a sustained inquiry.[17] From these scattered

[16] AS, Biccherna, vols 227 (1351) to 237 (1357).

[17] Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale e città al tempo dei comuni*, p. 40, provides a list of numbers of hermits in various central and northern Italian cities at particular moments in time at their height (see Table 1). The one city that had more hermits than Siena was Rome, which had a recorded 260 hermits. See Livarius Oliger, "Regula Reclusorum Angliae et Quaestiones Tres de Vita Solitaria Saec. XIII–XIV," *Antonianum* 9 (1934), 265–66.

Table 1. Numbers of hermits in Italian cities in the 13th and 14th centuries as compared to Siena

Year	City	Number of hermits		
		Total	Female	Male
1290	Perugia	68	56	12
1290	Siena	69	…	…
1276–1428	Fabriano	55	…	…
1302	Pisa	30	28	2
1302	Siena	79	…	…
1343	Siena	224	188	36
1370	Foligno	62	…	…
1373	Siena	105	73	32
n/a	Rome	260	…	…

Sources: Mario Sensi, "Incarcerate e penitenti a Foligno nella prima metà del trecento," in *I frati penitenti di san Francesco nella società del Due e Trecento*, ed. Mariano d'Alatri (Rome, 1977), pp. 296–97; Romualdo Sassi, "Incarcerati e incarcerate a Fabriano nei secoli XIII e XIV," in *Studia picena* 25 (1957), 70, 75–85; Mauro Ronzani, "Penitenti e ordini mendicanti a Pisa sino all'inizio del trecento," in *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 89 (1977), 741; Giovanna Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale e città al tempo dei comuni* (Rome, 1995), 40–41; and Archivio di Stato di Siena, Biccherna, vols 103 (fols 103r–104r); 116 (fol. 344); 117 (fols 369v–372v); 212 (fols 220v–223r); 213 (fols 147r–150r); and 251 (fols 220r–222r).

references, it appears that the population of hermits in Siena was significantly larger than that found in other Italian cities (see Table 1).

The Biccherna serves as the most thorough and significant record of alms to hermits in Siena; however, testaments and records of disbursements of testaments provide a complementary source demonstrating the significant support private citizens offered to religious hermits.[18] The wills of this period illustrate the religious inclinations of the Sienese citizens and shed light on the diversity of religious groups within the city at this time.[19] The citizens of Siena provided alms for a range

[18] Many of these testaments and records of distributions of testaments are housed in the *Diplomatico* in the following archives in the AS: Archivio Generale dei Contratti, Biblioteca Pubblica, Legato Bicchi Borghesi, Patrimonio dei Resti Ecclesiastici, and Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala.

[19] For a thorough discussion of testamentary bequests in Siena, see Samuel Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*; and id., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore, 1992). Also see Salvatore I. Camporeale, "La morte, la proprietà, il 'problema della salvezza.' Testamenti e ultime volontà a Siena dal 1200 al 1800," in *Gli ordini religiosi mendicanti: Tradizione e dissenso*, Memorie domenicane n.s. 22 (Pistoia, Italy, 1991), pp. 381–404.

of religious individuals and groups in their wills, including hermits. These bequests ranged from a closing sentence in the will authorizing the gift of a handful of pennies to every hermit living within the city walls or within a certain distance (usually one to three miles) to an individual listing of specific, named hermits and their location within the city.[20] In many cases, the dispersion of legacies bequeathed in testaments was accomplished through the mediation of local hospitals and was recorded in their financial registers. The alms bequeathed in testaments and distributed by the hospitals to hermits were usually rather trivial sums—a few soldi (or pennies) in most cases—distributed annually. One of the city's most important hospitals, Casa della Misericordia, left a significant record of alms distributed to the city's hermits from 1347 to 1357 in the form of the notarial book of Mino dei Fei.[21] Other notarial records, such as rental leases or annuities, also provide valuable insights into the practice of female urban reclusion.[22]

Siena's topography—both sacral and natural—facilitated its enlargement and expansion over the course of the 13th century into a major Tuscan city of enormous spiritual, artistic, and financial resources. Urban reclusion, which took root in the mid-13th century, developed in the context of a vibrant religious landscape, made possible by the wealth of resources the city offered. Sienese wealth—material and religious—derived from its central location along the Via Francigena, the road carrying pilgrims and other sojourners between France and

[20] For examples of such testaments in translation, see Allison Clark, "Charitable Bequests in Siena, 1300–25," in *Medieval Towns: A Reader*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 11 (Peterborough, Ont., 2006), pp. 265–68.

[21] AS, Casa della Misericordia, Protocolli N. 17, 18, 19, and 21. Mino dei Fei recorded the distribution of alms to all the female hermits throughout the city, mentioning their names and locations. There are occasionally multiple distributions of alms at different times of the year for several of these years, providing comparative information within particular years. The good fortune of having these extant records during these particular years cannot be overstated, as they come during two critical periods of time when the Biccherna volumes are either missing or provide only partial information, namely the period around the Black Death (1347–50) and the fall of the Nine (1355 and beyond). For further background information on Casa della Misericordia, see *Statuti de la Casa di Santa Maria de la Misericordia di Siena. Volgarizzati circa il MCCCXXXI*, ed. Luciano Banchi (Siena, 1886); and Giuliano Catoni, "Gli oblati della Misericordia. Poveri e benefattori a Siena nella prima metà del trecento," in *La società del bisogno. Povertà e assistenza nella Toscana medievale*, ed. Giuliano Pinto (Florence, 1989), pp. 1–17.

[22] See discussion below for examples of each.

Rome.[23] The traffic on the Via Francigena brought not only pilgrims traveling toward Rome but also commerce and trade, essential to the economic growth and livelihood of the city's important banking industry. The popularity of the pilgrimage route encouraged the foundation of numerous hospices, hospitals, churches, and stores, thus creating a lively religious and economic life in the outskirts of the city from the 11th century onward.[24] When the mendicants arrived in Siena in the early 13th century, they—and the religious institutions they inspired—settled in these areas, just beyond the city gates. As the city walls incrementally expanded to accommodate the growing population and urban development, these religious institutions, along with the former city gates, were swallowed up within the newly built walls and gates. The city was structurally divided into three administrative and geographical units, or *terzi* (Città, San Martino, and Camollia), which reflected the natural topography and this process of urban growth. The geographical center of the city—where the three *terzi* meet—is also the point of intersection of the spines of three hills, with each hill and its surrounding valleys comprising one *terzo*.[25] Descending from these hill ridges are valleys that, while enclosed within the city walls by the early 14th century, were relatively uninhabited in the early 13th century. Thus the urban periphery of Siena came to include both former suburban settlements arising from pilgrimage and commercial traffic

[23] See Mario Bezzini, *Strada Francigena-Romea. Con particolare riferimento ai percorsi Siena-Roma* (Siena, 1996), for further discussion of Siena's pivotal role as a key location on the Via Francigena.

[24] Although somewhat dated, the still useful *Siena nel Trecento: Assetto urbano e strutture edilizie*, Studi di storia medievale toscana (Florence, 1977), by social historians Duccio Balestracci and Gabriella Piccinni, reconstructs the socioeconomic context of the city by each city zone. For the urban development of Camollia, see Paolo Brogini, "L'assetto topografico del 'burgus de Camullia' nell'alto medioevo (secoli X–XII) e il suo apparato difensivo (secoli XI–XIV)," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 102 (1995), 9–62; Paolo Nardi, "I borghi di San Donato e di San Pietro a Ovile. 'Popoli,' contrade e compagnie d'armi nella società senese dei secoli XI–XIII," *Bullettino Sense di Storia Patria* 73–75 (1966–68), 7–59; and *La chiesa di San Pietro alla Magione nel terzo di Camollia a Siena: Il monumento, l'arte, la storia*, ed. Mario Ascheri (Siena, 2001).

[25] Castelvecchio, the old *castrum*, stands on the hill within the *terzo* of Città. The pilgrimage route ran along the spines of the hills in Camollia, the long stretch of the city northward named after the former suburban settlement, and San Martino, the region southeast following the pilgrimage route southbound to Rome. For visual images of the city layout and landscape, see Roberto Barzanti and Luca Betti, *Above Siena. The Shape of the City* (Siena, 1997); and Alberto Fiorini, *Siena. Immagini, testimonianze e miti nei toponimi della città* (Siena, 1991).

on the Via Francigena along the hill spines, and empty spaces in the valleys.[26]

The physical spaces occupied by female hermits tended to be located in the urban periphery—the areas of the city near the former and newly built city gates and in the more thinly populated valley regions of the city. Their locations often mirrored the spaces of their immediate patrons—one of the several mendicant orders, a hospital founded by an individual or family, a conventual community of *suore*, or even a small church. Three distinct types of geographical references emerge from the sources—city gates, topographical features, and religious institutions—usually aligned with one of the city's three *terzi* (see Table 2). Overall, these were the poorer zones on the outskirts of the city—the most expensive city real estate was in the city center.[27] The land in the valleys was the most marginal real estate, as were the sloping "coasts" (*costa*) descending into the valleys. While the city gates were critical real estate, the land on and around which they stood was owned by the commune and was a public area, subject to contention and potentially the site of battles or other conflicts. The religious institutions around which hermits congregated tended to be off of the city's major arteries on side streets, as well as in less wealthy or newer neighborhoods on the city's edge, where there was still the possibility of and space for urban development.

While the notarial sources are abundant in descriptions of the locations of particular hermitages and the land upon which they stand, the actual structure or layout of the cell is less richly documented. Consistent references in notarial documents to cells in the plural for groups of hermits imply that each hermit did have her own unique cell.[28] As so many of the hermits lived adjacent to other structures, such as a city gate, a city wall, or another building, presumably they utilized the existing wall of the other permanent structure (gate, wall,

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[26] A classic source on Siena's urban topography is Vittorio Lusini, "Note storiche sulla topografia di Siena nel secolo XIII," *Bullettino Sense di Storia Patria* 28 (1921), 239–341. Also see William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 1–22; Mario Bezzini, *Formazione e sviluppo di Siena medievale* (Siena, 1981); and Tim Benton, "The Three Cities Compared: Urbanism," in *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion, 1280–1400*, *Case Studies*, ed. Diana Norman, 2 vols (New Haven, 1995), 2:9–15.

[27] See Balestracci and Piccinni, *Siena nel Trecento*, especially chap. 6, "Quartieri ricci e quartieri poveri."

[28] See, for example, AS, Biblioteca Pubblica, 4 June 1332; and AS, Bichi Borghesi, L. 317, vol. 17 (29 July 1325), and L. 414, vol. 18 (5 Sept. 1325).

Table 2. Geographical descriptors used in the Biccherna and Casa della Misericordia records for locations of hermits in Siena by *Terzo*, 1275–1375

Terzo	City gates	Topographical descriptors	Religious institutions
Camollia	• Porta Camollia • Porta Ovile	None	• S. Prospero, a female monastery • S. Petronilla, a female monastery • Bandinelli, a private hospital
Città	• Porta Borga Nuova • Porta Laterina • Porta S. Benedetto	• Costa al Pino • Costa S. Marco • Piano Mantellini	• Hospital S. Maria • Mantellini, a male mendicant order • S. Quirico, a parish church • Hospital Jesu Christo • Sperandie, a female monastery
San Martino	• Castel Montone/ Porta Val di Montone • Porta Busseto • Porta Nuova • Porta Romana • Porta S. Lazaro • Porta Uliviera • Porta S. Vienne	• Val di Pogna • Val di Montone • Ruota (dei Servi) • Valli	• Cell of male hermit Fra Gieri • S. Mamiliano, a female monastery • S. Lazaro, a hospital for lepers • Cell of Nicolas Petroni, next to Porta Nuova • Ognissanti, a female monastery • Servites, a male mendicant order • Badia Nuova of San Giovanni Battista, a male monastic community • S. Chiara, a female monastery

Source: Archivio di Stato di Siena, Biccherna, vols 59–256; AS, Casa della Misericordia, Protocolli N. 17, 18, and 21.
Note: This table notes the variety and types of geographical descriptors used in each of the three city *terzi*. San Martino had the greatest variety of eremitic locations, with more city gates and religious institutions cited in this *terzo* as locations for hermitages than in the others.

or building) against which they built their cells. This practice of building lean-to homes on the city walls was not unheard of, especially among the especially poorer inhabitants of a medieval city.[29] The *vita* of Chiara of Rimini describes her cell as a lean-to attached to the city walls of Rimini at a point where there was a hole in the wall.[30] In Siena, construction of the walls lagged behind the construction of the city gates,[31] thus creating opportunities for hermits to locate themselves adjacent to the existing city walls, in a space that was not yet defined by the presence of a complete city wall. In fact, the gate of Porta San Marco, alongside which a significant group of hermits congregated, was built in 1258; however, the adjacent city walls connecting the gate to the rest of the wall complex were constructed significantly later—between 1326 and 1415.[32]

A majority of Sienese female hermits were located around the various gates of the city—their locations described as just beyond the gate, at the gate, or even inside the gate. This latter description—*dentro la porta*—may well have referred to the space between the gate and the anteport.[33] Although presumably crowded and small, this space would have been a prime location for receiving alms—it has been estimated that in Florence in the early 1360s, more than 110 individuals worked at the gates, including "guards, cashiers, inspectors of merchandise, guards for the outside of the gate, and various masters."[34] In the 1320s through the 1350s, there were between 65 and 70 gate watchmen in Siena, each paid 30 soldi every six months.[35] In addition to functioning as a desirable location for collecting alms due to the commercial traffic, the symbolic value of the gates—as manifest in religious rituals

[29] Those who built homes using the city walls as part of the actual walls of the home were usually required to pay a fee to the city, usually 20 soldi for each arm's length (*braccio*) of city wall used. Balestracci and Piccinni, *Siena nel Trecento*, p. 82.

[30] Giuseppe Garampi, *Memorie ecclesiastiche appartenenti all'istoria e al culto della b. Chiara di Rimini* (Rome, 1755), Cap. V, pp. 24–26.

[31] Felicity Ratté, "Architectural Invitations: Images of City Gates in Medieval Italian Painting," *Gesta* 38.2 (1999), 142–53; see n. 24.

[32] Fiorini, *Siena*, p. 268.

[33] Archaeological evidence and surviving examples demonstrate that most Sienese gates had anteports. Ratté, "Architectural Invitations," p. 143.

[34] Ratté, "Architectural Invitations," p. 145.

[35] AS, Biccherna, vols 144 (fol. 144r), 145 (fol. 148r), 146 (fol. 80r), 149 (fol. 169v), 150 (fol. 75v), 154 (fol. 52r), 155 (fol. 64v), 194 (fol. 52v), 195 (fol. 201r), 211 (fol. 189v), 216 (fol. 166v), 235 (fol. 112r), and 236 (fols 126v–127r).

and processions that passed through them—would have also made these sites attractive for hermits.[36]

A handful of notarial documents documenting the lease of land from a local hospital to a group of hermits located in the northern part of the city just outside Porta Camollia provides some insight into the specifications of the space occupied by a group of hermits.[37] Acting legally under the direction of a *procuratore* named Ghezzo, son of the late Marco, in 1325 a group of 17 hermits located near Santa Petronilla leased land from Spedale Salimbeni—a small local hospital owned by the magnate Salimbeni family—for 20 years.[38] The hermits lived in individual cells located just at or immediately beyond the city gate. Immediately beyond these individual cells was a small piazza that belonged to one of the local hospitals in the area and was surrounded on all sides by the hospital's possessions. The dimensions of the small piazza were provided in the Sienese measurement *braccia a canna senese*, which literally means the arm's length of a stick.[39] The small piazza was 74 *braccia a canna senese* deep, but was wedge-shaped such that the width at one end was 14, 18 at the other end, and 15 in the middle.[40] While we do not know the size or structure of the individual cells from this source, the rental lease does clarify a few critical points about the hermits' dwelling space: there were multiple cells for the hermits located at the gate, the hermits had need for a somewhat larger common space, and the hermits' space was directly connected

[36] Ratté, "Architectural Invitations," p. 144. For more on civic ritual in Siena, see Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese* (Aldershot, UK, 2004), pp. 1–13; and Bram Kempers, "Icons, Altarpieces, and Civic Ritual in Siena Cathedral, 1100–1530," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 107–12.

[37] AS, Bichi Borghesi, L. 317, vol. 17 (29 July 1325); Bichi Borghesi, L. 414, vol. 18 (5 Sept. 1325); Biblioteca Pubblica, 4 June 1332; Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 26 Feb. 1343; and Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 2 March 1343.

[38] AS, Bichi Borghesi, L. 317, vol. 17 (29 July 1325).

[39] Land measurements in Siena were usually given by acreage, in the measurement of a *staio* or *starius*, which was less than a third of an acre. Bowsky, *Medieval Italian Commune*, p. xvii. However, for smaller areas, this measurement was usually provided. Presumably a *braccia a canna senese* would be comparable to or somewhat less than a yard.

[40] "una platea ipsius hospitalis posita in plano S. Petronilla de Porta Camollia post cellas dominarum heremitarium…est res dicti hospitalis longitudinis settuagintaquactuor bracchiorum ad canna senensis et latitudinis in una capta decemetacto brachiorum et ex parte inferioris latitudinis quatuordecim bracchiorum et in medio amplitudinis quondam bracchiorum…" AS, Bichi Borghesi, L. 317, vol. 17 (29 July 1325).

with the hospital. The lease amount per hermit—12 denari or 1 soldo per year—was so minimal as to suggest either extreme charity on the part of the hospital or a mutually beneficial relationship between the hermits and the hospital.[41]

Whatever the nature of the relationship between the two groups was in 1325, it deepened over the subsequent two decades. Even though the original 1325 lease stipulated that only the original 17 hermits were granted rights of use (it explicitly prohibited the women from giving the cells of deceased hermits to anyone else), in 1343, just shy of 20 years later, when the lease was due to expire, a renewal document was drawn up granting the 32 hermits now living on the land even greater privileges of use with respect to the land.[42] The women were now permitted to sell, donate, or make any other use of the land as they pleased, provided each hermit continued to pay 12 denari each year to the hospital, along with an initial one-time payment of 8 soldi per hermit. New hermits were permitted to join the community, provided they met the financial obligations set forth in the lease. Clearly, the community had grown in the intervening years, despite the terms of the original lease.[43] Given the reality of the expansion of the female eremitic community, the hospital attempted to accommodate this growth, and hopefully ensure some financial benefit from the increased numbers of female hermits. Along with increased numbers, the community created more permanent building structures. The lease describes the hermits as not only having cells but also a cloister constructed on this piazza originally leased from the hospital.

Another example from another area of the city—the *terzo* of San Martino—demonstrates that female hermits established similar types of relationships with religious institutions as well.[44] The Servite

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[41] For comparison's sake, a loaf of bread in 1307 was three denari (AS, Biccherna, vol. 120, fol. 204), and a bushel of wine in 1318 cost around eight soldi or 96 denari, with the rate of exchange between soldi and denari at 1:12 (AS, Biccherna, vol. 136, fol. 86v, 31 Aug. 1318).

[42] AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 26 Feb. 1343 and 2 Mar. 1343.

[43] A comparison of the names of women on the two rental leases (AS, Bichi Borghesi, L. 317, vol. 17, 29 July 1325, and AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 26 Feb. 1343) indicates that only three of the original 17 women living there in 1325 were still present in 1343.

[44] For hermits in other parts of Italy we see similar patterns of ownership of cells by other religious institutions, although there are no cited examples of rental leases by religious institutions in the relevant scholarship. In Perugia in the 1290s, there are several examples of hermitages (or *carcere* as they were called there) that appear

priory in Siena, located on a side street off of the main Via Francigena, not far from the busy Porta Romana, permitted female hermits to build cells on their land. In 1332, the Servites formalized via a rental contract what had been a more informal agreement.[45] In exchange for the payment of 40 lire to the Servites, seven women were granted the use of this tract of land for their cells, with the condition that upon the death of the original seven the land would return to the Servites. This rental contract explained that two of these seven women were already living as hermits on this land owned by the Servites; the addition of five new women to this hermitage precipitated the rental contract because it necessitated a rebuilding and/or expansion of the hermitage with new cells for the newcomers. These circumstances suggest that the Servites were willing to tolerate the occasional hermit, but once it was clear that a community was developing, they felt the need to create a legal document that provided for the hermits (in exchange for 40 lire), but also asserted their ownership over the land and its eventual return to them. The Servite hermitage grew significantly over the next decade, reaching a high of 18 women in the early 1340s.[46]

The rental price stipulated by the Servites—40 lire—is steeper than that required by the Salimbeni Spedale; however, the hospital's required payment of 12 denari (or one soldo) every year for 30 or more hermits would quickly add up. Instead of annual payments that would have required ongoing administrative attention, the 40-lire rental price for the Servites' land was a fixed, somewhat high, price the hermits would have paid initially in exchange for the benefit of land rights enduring until the hermits' death. In the case of the Servites, however, all of the women who later joined the hermitage after 1332 enjoyed the benefits of the 40-lire fixed sum that the original seven paid.

An interesting commonality evident in the leasing arrangements offered to the hermits by both the Spedale Salimbeni and the Servites

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to have belonged to religious entities. For example, "in carcere Sancte Caterine" or "in carceribus Sancti Benvegnatis" (Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale*, p. 43). In Pisa, many hermitages were identified as associated with religious individuals or churches, although the documentation is not clear on whether the hermitages were simply in proximity to religious places or were in fact owned by the particular religious entity next to which the hermitage was situated: "cella dicta Sancti Iohannis Gaitanorum, cella dicta Sancti Martini de Vectula, cella de Sancto Xisto, cella de Sancto Iusto ad Parlascium; heremitae Sancte Caterine, S. Eufraxie, S. Marie Magdalene, S. Petri in Curteveteri" (Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale*, p. 44).

[45] AS, Casa della Misericordia, Protocolli N. 21, fol. 38.

[46] AS, Biccherna, vol. 207 (June 1341), fols 150r–153v.

was a transition from informal to more formal arrangements. In both cases, smaller groups of hermits were previously living and had constructed edifices on the land owned respectively by the Salimbeni Spedale and the Servites prior to the official rental leases of 1332 and 1343. The number of hermits in Siena was reaching its height in the late 1330s and early 1340s, so perhaps the greater numbers of hermits throughout the city and in these specific locations offered a sufficiently compelling reason for the religious institutions to formalize relations regarding land ownership and use.

In both cases of land rental leases (the Salimbeni hospital and the Servites) it is clear that the female hermits themselves had to generate the funds for the land upon which they lived. Even if the leases represent a form of charity in providing land at reasonable rates, the women still had to support themselves. In the case of the Salimbeni lease, it is perfectly conceivable that the hermits could have relied upon the various alms they received on an ongoing basis from the commune or private testators, to pay their annual rent of 12 denari (or 1 soldo). However, the 40-lire fee for the Servite lease, even split among seven women, would equal out to 5.7 lire or 114 soldi per person. While this is not an exorbitant sum, it would have been beyond the reach of someone simply relying upon annual alms of a couple of lire a year. It seems obvious that at least some of these hermits must have had familial resources—perhaps even dowry funds—to support them. The payment up front of this somewhat larger sum that provided for land for the rest of their lives enabled the women to live on the more meager alms to meet their daily needs for physical sustenance.

In a similar fashion, a register from the main hospital of Siena, Santa Maria della Scala, indicates that several hermits procured pension plans from the hospital whereby the hermits paid a fixed, relatively large, sum to the hospital in exchange for annual distributions of smaller pension amounts in perpetuity.[47] Thus, in addition to serving as a repository and distributor of alms from testamentary bequests (as did other hospitals in Siena, most notably Casa della Misericordia),

[47] AS, Santa Maria della Scala, Perpetue N. 128, is the most comprehensive volume of payments of religious alms by the hospital, covering the two decades from the 1330s through the 1350s.

Santa Maria della Scala also functioned as a provider of annuities for religious individuals including hermits.[48]

While the phenomenon of eremitic reclusion in the city of Siena was largely a female one, male hermits were included in the distribution of alms by the commune, private testators, and hospitals. Whereas the female hermits are usually listed in alms records as part of groups with a specific geographical indicator to identify their location within the city (see Table 1), the male hermits are listed as isolated individuals, or with one or two companions, sometimes in locations clearly within the city, but more often than not in locations that were likely a mile or two outside of the city.[49] It is likely that the majority of these male hermits living outside the walls would have had little contact with the female hermits who congregated within and around the city gates and walls. However, there is evidence that the few male hermits who were located inside the city walls often lived in close proximity to female hermits.[50] This same pattern of male and female hermits congregating in similar urban areas is demonstrated in other Italian cities and other areas of Europe as well.[51]

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[48] This practice, especially extended to hermits, appears to be highly unusual. No other scholarship on hermits—in Italy or beyond—mentions this kind of self-support.

[49] Occasionally, male hermits were cited as living in a particular known area in the *contado*, but more often than not, the geographical markers for the male hermits are less uniform and less easily decipherable. The common formula for alms to hermits provided for those living within the city and up to a mile or two outside of the city. Most of the male hermits indicated in the alms records fell within this latter category. Given that the geographical descriptors for many of the male hermits were clearly not within the city, one can only presume, lacking further geographic indicators, that these male hermits were located in the immediate suburban areas.

[50] For example, groups of female hermits congregated in areas near the cells of two male hermits—Nicolas Petroni and Fra Gieri. Four female hermits—three of whom were sisters—are documented as living at the cell of Nicholas Petroni near Porta Nuova in 1343 (AS, Biccherna, v 212, June 1343, fols 220v–223r). Fra Gieri appears to have been a well-established male hermit who first lived with other male hermits in the area of Castel Montone as early as 1318 (AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 29 Oct. 1318), and then lived in proximity to a community of female hermits who gathered around his cell in the 1340s (AS, Biccherna, v 212, June 1343, fols 220v–223r). Also, a 1335 will by Domina Lagia (AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, Diplomatico, 11 Sept. 1335) lists alms to a pair of two female hermits and a pair of two male hermits living in the Piano Mantellini.

[51] In Perugia, for example, alms were distributed to 20 female and two male recluses in the areas around the Porta Sole and the Porta Eburnea in 1277. See Mario Sensi, "Anchoresses and Penitents in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Umbria," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago, 1996), pp. 56–83, at p. 64. There certainly is precedent in other geographical areas of Europe for male and female hermits to live in close

Female hermits significantly outnumbered male hermits within the city of Siena (see Figure 2), even when considering the city as inclusive of the two miles beyond the city walls where most of the male hermits lived. Throughout the 1340s—the period of greatest popularity of female reclusion in the city of Siena—male hermits only accounted for roughly 20 per cent of the total number of hermits supported by the commune (see Figure 3).[52] In the immediate aftermath of the Black Death in 1348, male hermits seemed to have fared much better than did female hermits. Several factors may account for this incredible disparity in mortality rates in the wake of the plague, including the locations of the hermits, differing poverty levels (indicative of rat-infestation levels), and differing degrees of social contact.[53] Male hermits in Siena seemed to have been both more physically and more socially isolated than were female hermits. Male hermits were, more often than not, located in the countryside outside of the city walls, whereas the female hermits were either at the points of greatest social contact—the city gates—or in poorer neighborhoods. The more remote location of the male hermits theoretically would have made it more possible for them to completely restrict social contact, the best strategy for staying alive

proximity. Consider the example of Christina of Markyate, who lived in a cell attached to the cell of the hermit Roger, her spiritual advisor and a monk of St Albans. See Diana Webb, *Privacy and Solitude in the Middle Ages* (London, 2007), p. 84.

[52] This gender ratio in Siena of four women to one man in the 1340s can be compared with quantitative data on hermits in England. In the 12th century, the ratio of female hermits to male hermits was 5:3; in the 13th century the ratio was 4:1; in the 14th century the ratio was 5:2; in the 15th century 5:3; and in the 16th century 3:2. See Ann Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, 1985), 19–20. There are no published data on the gender ratio of hermits over time in any sustained way for other areas of central and northern Italy, but Casagrande, in *Religiosità penitenziale*, 40, provides snapshot gender comparisons (see Table 1): in Pisa in 1302 there were 30 hermits, 28 of whom were women, resulting in a 14:1 female to male ratio; in Perugia in 1290 there were 68 hermits, 56 of whom were women, resulting in a 14:3 ratio. Thus, in comparison to other Italian cities, Siena seems to have had more male hermits. The data on Siena include hermits living up to two miles outside the city, whereas in the data Casagrande cites, the numbers appear to only reflect hermit population figures in the city. Given that the male hermits tended to live in greater numbers in the area outside the city, rather than within the city walls, the actual ratio of female to male hermits within the city walls is likely quite similar for Siena and other Italian towns.

[53] See Ann G. Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, UK, 1986); and Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Black Death Transformed. Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London, 2002) for further discussion of these issues.

during the plague.[54] The female hermits, in contrast, were located in areas associated with a high degree of social contact, which were also, generally speaking, poorer neighborhoods of the city.[55] The very high mortality rate for female hermits does indeed call into question the nature of their claustration; if the women were truly cloistered and had minimal contact with others, it seems unlikely that their mortality rates would be so high, even living in a poor neighborhood or near the city gates. The data suggest that the female hermits had a high degree of social contact with the sick and infected. Given the proximity of female hermitages to local hospitals, it seems very likely that they worked in some of these hospitals, thus were exposed consistently to the plague-ridden individuals.

The data for hermits from the 1350s through the 1370s are less full, but the few representative data points indicate that the numbers of male and female hermits stabilized at about a 30/70 per cent ratio. The

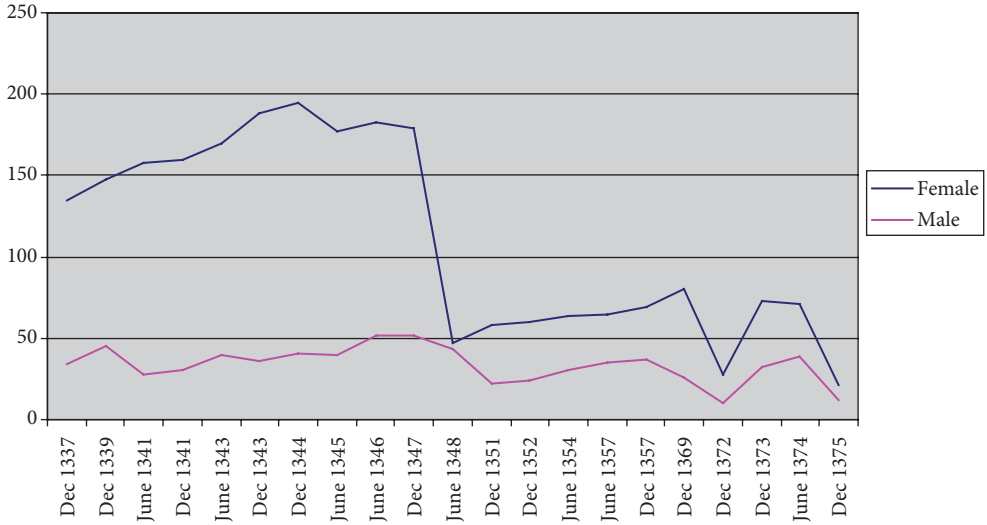

Figure 2. Female vs. male hermits in Siena, 1337–1375: numbers by year

[54] Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1350–53) takes as its premise the notion that fleeing the city and going into the countryside would make one less susceptible to the plague by separating oneself from society.

[55] Balestracci and Piccinni, *Siena nel Trecento*, pp. 113–30.

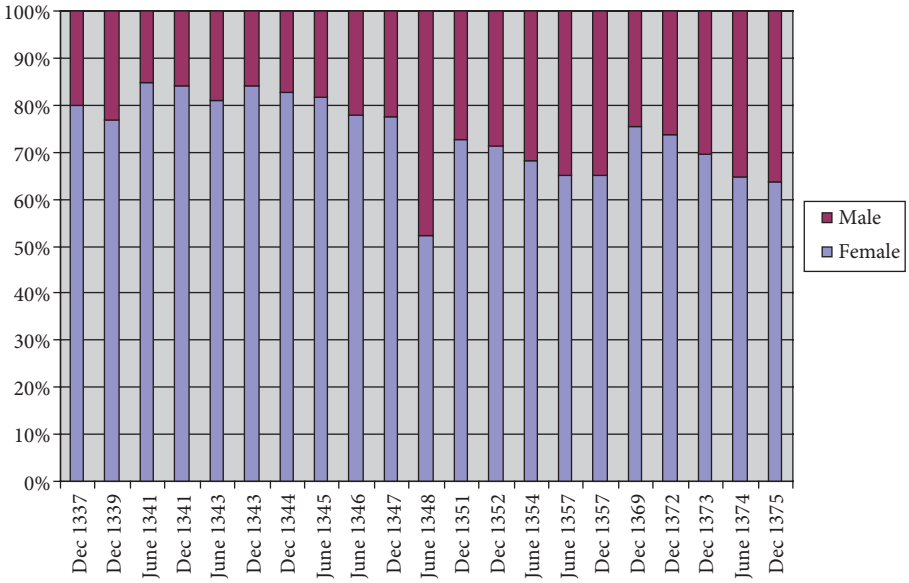

Figure 3. Male vs. female hermits in Siena, 1337–1375: percent of total

total numbers from this period are also significantly lower, suggesting that this more limited sample size should be treated with greater caution when drawing any conclusions.[56]

Different scholars of urban eremiticism have offered varied reasons for the decline of this practice in Italy.[57] With no dramatic turning-point in Italy akin to the Reformation in England, the practice of urban reclusion slowly declined over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries, with the last recorded hermit in Italy a solitary recluse living in a cell in Saint Peter's basilica in Rome in 1571.[58] In other cities,

[56] The significant drop in numbers in 1372 indicated in Figure 1 should be treated with caution, especially given the scant data and the upswing in the numbers in the following years. Although it is possible that there was some event or circumstances in 1372 that reduced the eremitic population in Siena, the more likely explanation is simply that the records are faulty or incomplete for that particular year.

[57] Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale*, pp. 57–60; Anna Benvenuti Papi, *In castro poenitentiae: santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale* (Rome, 1990), pp. 234–35; Mario Sensi, "La reclusione in Italia," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, 10 vols (Rome, 1974–2003), 7:1235–1242. at coll.1240; and Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq, "Le reclus dans la ville au Bas Moyen Âge," *Journal des Savants* 3 (1988), 219–62, at 238.

[58] Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale*, p. 58.

female urban reclusion ceased even earlier—as seems to be the case in Siena—with the practice of urban reclusion subsumed into other religious outlets—monastic or third order—that were more carefully regulated by male authorities and institutionalized in communal forms.[59] Examples of mendicant preaching in the early 14th century testify to the growing concern of male leaders over the unregulated nature of female recluses. For example, the Dominican friar Giordano of Pisa, preaching at Santa Maria Novella in Florence in the early 14th century, claimed that such recluses and hermits were wicked, insane, and foolish. Their reclusion created great danger not only for their souls but also for the larger Christian community, from whom they cut themselves off, preventing any friar or priest from serving as a confessor or spiritual guide.[60] The movement toward monastic institutionalization under clear male supervision is evident in descriptive records of recluses and hermitages.[61] We see similar patterns in Siena.

The practice of reclusion in Siena from the late 13th century to the late 14th century demonstrated a particular arc of gradual popularity peaking in the 1340s; declining as a result of the mortality of the Black Death; and despite a recovery of some numbers in the second half of the 1350s, declining gradually throughout the rest of the 14th century. After 1375, there are no records of alms designated for hermits in the

[59] Casagrande, *Religiosità penitenziale*, pp. 59–60.

[60] Benvenuti Papi, '*In castro poenitentiae*,' pp. 234–35.

[61] For example, see the chronicle history of the female monastery of Santa Annunziata delle Murate in Florence, authored by Suora Giustina Niccolini in 1597, published as "Appendix Three" to the dissertation by Saundra Weddle, "Enclosing *Le Murate*: The Ideology of Enclosure and the Architecture of a Florentine Convent, 1390–1597" (PhD. diss., Cornell University, 1997). The monastery began as a hermitage located on the bridge Ponte Rubaconte over the Arno. Another example comes from the Life of the St Umiltà, Abbess of the Vallombrosan Order in Florence, in Elizabeth Petroff, trans., *Consolation of the Blessed* (New York, 1979), chap. 2, par. 13, 127. On the latter: "Questo esempio di evoluzione dalla reclusione individuale alla vita cenobitica all'insegna della regola benedettina (ma più spesso si incontra quella agostiniana) nel quadro delle consuetudine e della soggezione vallombrosana, illustra perfettamente la storia di molte altre comunità femminili sorte spontaneamente nel XIII secolo—non sempre attorno alla figura di una santa reclusa—et indirizzate verso soluzioni istituzionalmente 'regolari' " (Benvenuti Papi, *In castro poenitentiae*, p. 357). This example of the evolution from individual reclusion to communal life under Benedictine rule (or more often Augustinian) within the context of custom and Vallombrosian control, perfectly illustrates the history of many other female communities (not always organized around the figure of a holy recluse) that spontaneously emerged in the 13th century and became more institutionally "regularized."

Biccherna, hospital registers, or in wills.[62] Clearly, urban reclusion no longer held sway in the public imagination as a vital and worthy form of religious devotion.[63] This decline may also be attributed to the rise of other forms of lay religious devotion, including the female penitential movement as embodied by Catherine.

Although the concurrence of 1375 as the last year in which alms were given to hermits and the year when Raymond of Capua became confessor to the famed Saint Catherine of Siena must be deemed coincidental, it is certainly telling of the shift in practices of lay religious devotion in Siena.[64] From the late 14th century on, there is little documentation of urban reclusion in Siena; however, at this precise point in time, Catherine's appeal as a religious model becomes especially pronounced, particularly with such a strong advocate as Raymond. Catherine's religious impulses, at their heart, shared many similarities with those of recluses, namely the attraction of withdrawal and separation. Even though female recluses or hermits in Siena were not completely separated or cut off from society in their cells, they did still live in cells in discrete locations from their familial homes. Catherine, in contrast, withdrew within her own home, attempting to live as a recluse within a familial environment. Instead of becoming a recluse—an eventual path that may well have suited Catherine's piety in both its contemplative and active elements—Catherine aligned herself with other forms of penitential piety in Siena that eventually came to be associated with the Dominican third order.

The establishment of formal ties between the Dominican order and female penitential communities throughout Italian cities developed

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[62] The last distribution of alms to hermits through the Casa della Misericordia is in 1355; Biccherna records of alms to hermits ceases in 1375. For more on shifts in testamentary bequests to religious individuals, see Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*, p. 50: "The year 1363 saw the sudden erosion of a style of pious giving that had prevailed for at least one hundred years. Of these, one of the most significant was the scattering of tiny sums of money to all the hermits (*hermiti/e, romiti/e*) living within the city or within a mile radius of Siena."

[63] Cohn argues that the pattern of alms giving altered after 1363 from "the scattering and fragmentation of the patrimonies in tiny parcels" to the consolidation of "few but sizable gifts in churches to recall their memory" and to the "generations of heirs"—either their own family or new families through donations to dowry funds (*Death and Property*, pp. 51, 94).

[64] Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process: Dominican Penitent Women and the Making of Their *Regula*," *Speculum* 79 (2004), 660–87, at 674.

over time from the late 13th century to the early 15th century.[65] Initially, groups of penitential women in urban areas joined together for communal worship and active charitable service. The members of the community were usually unmarried, single women or widows, and they lived in their family homes—either that of their father or another male relative in the case of single women, or their deceased husband's home in the case of widows. Their communal worship consisted of the celebration of the Divine Hours, charitable visits to hospitals, and distribution of alms.[66] Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner argues that the development of the Dominican third order as a distinct order with a common, established rule and clear guidelines for Dominican supervision only occurred through the efforts of Caffarini around 1400. The rule and guidelines were encapsulated in his *Tractatus*, which included *vitae* of penitent *beatae* and a history of the penitent order. The *Tractatus* "produced a new ideology of a universal and formally structured Dominican life of penance" by aligning the *beatae* with the Dominican third order and presenting a seamless history of coordinated Dominican involvement and oversight of female penitents from the late 13th century to that point in time.[67] Caffarini sought, and obtained, papal approval for the penitent rule contained within the *Tractatus* in 1405,

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[65] For Lehmijoki-Gardner, this is in contrast to the Franciscan order, where more formal ties existed earlier between the mendicants and the groups of penitential women. She argues that the 1289 papal bull *Supra Montem* officially established an "order of penitence," whereas the Dominicans were never officially designated as such until 1405. The documentation in Siena supports this distinction: in several instances, women self-identified as members of the Franciscan "Order of Penitence." For example, Domina Maria in her 1300 testament described herself as a member "de ordine dominarum de penitentia tertium ordinis S Francesco." Additionally, she provided a significant bequest to the "Abbatissa dominarum de penitentia civitatis senensis tertium ordinis S Francesco," as well as the Franciscans (AS, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, 17 Oct. 1300). Although there are several instances of identifications of a Franciscan third order, in my survey of wills and other notarial documentation in Siena from the 13th and 14th centuries, there is no such mention of an official "Dominican" third order. For more on the Franciscan third orders, see Lino Temperini, *Carisma e legislazione alle origini del terzo ordine di S. Francesco* (Rome, 1996). Also see the introduction in *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2005), pp. 1–24.

[66] See *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 1–24, for a discussion of the characteristics of Dominican penitential communities throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. Throughout the 14th century and most of the 15th, penitential women continued to live in their own homes, but by the end of the 15th century, there are several examples of Dominican penitents who lived in community akin to a monastic house (p. 12).

[67] Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," p. 679.

and, in so doing, "refurbished a movement that historically had consisted of independent groups of women by representing it as a centrally administered order open to both men and women."[68]

This penitent rule contained within the *Tractatus* was a revised version of a rule written in 1286 by Munio of Zamora, now conserved in the Biblioteca Communale in Siena.[69] Lehmijoki-Gardner suggests that this 1286 rule was written by Munio for a penitent community of women at Orvieto in response to the particular needs of a lay group of women to demonstrate that their way of life was accepted by the Dominicans. The rule did not represent the founding of a penitential tertiary order, as Caffarini claimed, but was simply an acknowledgement that the common penitential life of these women was acceptable to the Dominicans.[70] Similarly, a large penitential community associated with the Dominicans developed in Siena in the late 13th century and early 14th. As was the case in Orvieto, the development of this community and its associations with the Dominicans necessitated the formulation of a set of rules to govern the religious community. However, the Sienese penitents were interested not only in establishing their relationship with the Dominicans but also in distancing themselves from the local hermits and recluses.

A copy of the 1289 Rules of Munio written for the penitent women of Orvieto—the sole surviving manuscript copy of these rules—was produced for the Sienese penitent women affiliated with the Dominicans.[71] The manuscript copy of the 1289 Rules is accompanied by an additional set of rules by Master General Hervaeus Natalis (1318–23), authored in 1321 upon the request of the group of penitential women in Siena associated with the Dominicans.[72] Natalis's additional set of guidelines appear to amplify and clarify issues that the Sienese penitential women had with respect to Munio's rules and their relationship vis-à-vis the Dominican order. In one case, the new guidelines contradict Munio's rules. The new guidelines permitted the women to select

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[68] Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," p. 679.

[69] Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8a.

[70] Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," pp. 666–69.

[71] See the manuscript Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8a.

[72] Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8a is the manuscript of Munio's 1289 rules. Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8b is a separate manuscript that begins with Natalis's guidelines, followed by several addendums, including a list of the penitential Dominican women. Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," p. 669.

their own prioress, whom the Dominican prior then had the right to confirm, whereas Munio's rules called for the Dominicans to select the women's leader.[73] Other rules included the right of Dominican friars to correct and admonish the women. Hervaeus' stipulations, according to Lehmijoki-Gardner, "tightened the bond between Dominicans and penitent women without providing them an institutional position in the order."[74]

In addition to defining more clearly the relationship between the Dominican order and the penitential women, Hervaeus' rules also clearly distinguish the penitential women from the urban recluses of Siena. While the Dominican penitential community was taking form and seeking greater group definition in Siena in the first half of the 14th century, the recluses were at their height in terms of sheer numbers and presumable popularity of this lay religious vocation for women.[75] Hervaeus' guidelines included the following stipulations:

> No *vestita* is permitted to reassume the habit [of a *vestita*] if renounced to become a recluse. No recluse is permitted to wear the habit of the *vestita*. No *vestita* of ours is given permission to enter any *reclusorium*. Likewise at any time in all respects concerning male or female monasteries or hermitages.[76]

These rules draw very sharp boundaries between penitential women and recluses, forbidding the Dominican penitential women, called *vestita*, to associate or be associated with recluses in any way.[77] While

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[73] Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," p. 670. Lehmijoki-Gardner points to this example as suggestive of the power that local women had to shape their own institutional environment, rather than have it simply presented to them. Lehmijoki-Gardner questions whether or not Hervaeus was aware of Munio's rules, but regardless, she argues, the power of the local women to have rules that conformed to their desires and/or local custom was significant.

[74] Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," p. 670.

[75] The number of urban hermits in Siena reached its height at 235 in June 1346 (AS, Biccherna, vol. 219, fols 154v–156v, 159v–162r).

[76] Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8b, fol. 2v. "Quod nulla vestita possit effici reclusa deponat h[ab]itus nunquam reassu[m]ptura. Quod nulli recluse co[n]cedi possit h[ab]itus vestitarum nostrarum. Quod nulli vestite n[ost]re possit dari licentia intrandi aliquod reclusorium. Ite[m] aliquando ad o[mn]ia de mo[n] asteriis et mo[n]ialibus et heremitis."

[77] The penitent women associated with the Dominicans were called *vestitae* throughout the late 13th century and the 14th; the term *soror de poenitentia* "was introduced into the Dominican lexicon only at the turn of the fifteenth century, when the Dominicans for the first time were prepared to consider penitent women as part of their order of preachers." Raymond of Capua and Caffarini were the first to

this rule was written by the Dominican Master General, Lehmijoki-Gardner argues that the formulation of these rules, generally speaking, came from the penitential women themselves, not necessarily from the authority of the Dominican friars. With that perspective in mind, we see in these three statements a concerted effort on the *vestitae*'s part to clarify the differences between themselves and recluses in order to set themselves apart, especially in the minds of outsiders. Perhaps this same interpretation can be attributed to the friars, who may have been equally concerned about confusion between the two groups. But, given the relationships between hermits and supporting religious institutions, the interpretation of the statements here follows Lehmijoki-Gardner's interpretation that the rules represent the concerns of the *vestitae*.

The first prescription explicitly forbids *vestitae* from rejoining the community of penitential women if they should leave it to become a recluse. The implication that penitents were concerned about members of their own group becoming a recluse for a period of time and then abandoning that practice to return to the penitential community is quite revealing. Whether or not the formulation of the rule prevented this movement back and forth between lay religious vocations from occurring post-1321 is not clear, but it is certain that there was a certain fluidity of movement between these two religious lifestyles that the penitents rejected as inappropriate and reflecting poorly on their religious lifestyle. The second prescription legislates the behavior of recluses rather than that of the *vestitae*, by forbidding recluses from wearing the habit associated with the Dominican penitential women. The fact that this statement is formulated this way—rather than the reverse, i.e., preventing penitential women from wearing the habit of the recluse—suggests that recluses pretending to be penitents was a real concern of the *vestitae*. Similarly it suggests that the penitents were protective of their reputation and felt it would be tarnished if they were indiscriminately associated with recluses. It is not clear, however, how the *vestitae*'s rules could have been binding on the recluses except through social pressure. The third prescription prevents *vestitae* from entering the spaces of other religious—including the cells of recluses,

systematically use the term *soror de poenitentia* and firmly associate it with Dominican tertiaries. Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," 668–69.

hermitages, or monasteries (male and female), thus demarcating the *vestitae* from other religious.

In this same manuscript, a rule was added in 1352 that required penitents who had adopted the habit of the *vestitae* to wear it until death. Lehmijoki-Gardner interprets this rule as both "affirm[ing] the permanence of the penitential vocation and thus signal[ing] one of the earliest efforts on the friars' part to treat the penitent vocation as an irrevocable religious status."[78] This new rule clearly distinguishes the penitents from recluses who did not adopt a permanent habit or take regular vows. Also, in this same section, another new rule requires the *vestitae* to gather for worship in the Dominican churches, signaling a greater degree of supervision and control by the Dominicans over the penitential women.[79] This greater divide or distinction between the penitential women and recluses that occurred mid-century seems to have affected the ongoing practice of urban reclusion in Siena. With the end of communal support for recluses, one can only assume that these hermitages were forced to either close down—as many had done over the preceding two decades—or transform themselves into something new. Clearly, fewer and fewer women adopted this religious vocation, turning to other groups or institutions instead when seeking religious alternatives to reclusion. The enormous popularity of Catherine, enhanced especially by the writings of her confessor Raymond of Capua extolling her virtues and lifestyle, must have swayed some women to the emerging Dominican third order in Siena.[80] While Catherine herself may have represented "inimitable sanctity," the general lifestyle of the Dominican tertiaries was well within the reach of any religiously inclined laywoman.[81] In the early 14th century, the differences between the two groups—recluses and penitents—may not have seemed so great; however, by the second half of the 14th century, the lines between the two were more sharply drawn, with the practice of urban reclusion in decline while more institutionalized religious outlets, such as the emerging Dominican third order, were deemed more appropriate for lay religious women.

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[78] Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8b, fol. 3r. Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules," p. 670.

[79] Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.8b, fol. 3r.

[80] Karen Scott, "Urban Spaces, Women's Networks, and the Lay Apostolate in the Siena of Catherine Benincasa," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 105–09.

[81] *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, p. 14.

CHAPTER THREE

CATHERINE OF SIENA AND THE PAPACY

Blake Beattie

Introduction

The 14th century was not kind to the papacy. It began with the outrage at Anagni and ended in the teeth of a devastating schism. In between, it witnessed the papacy's long stay at Avignon, which was widely, if somewhat unfairly, perceived as seven decades of base servitude to the French crown. Along the way there were famines, economic crises, imperial incursions into Italy, a tragicomic antipope, crusades that went nowhere, the alarming ascendancy of the Ottomans in the East, a proliferation of dissenting religious movements, the Hundred Years War, and the horrors of the Black Death—all of which, it seemed, a veritable legion of contemporary critics could somehow or other trace to the moral failings of the papacy.

Catherine of Siena belongs on the list of illustrious 14th-century Italians—among whom Dante, Ptolemy of Lucca, and Petrarch are most prominent—who viewed the papacy's absence as a matter of gravest import. Catherine shared the sense of urgency which other Italian observers attached to the papacy's return and had serious concerns about the moral implications of the popes' long absence, but she was not, in the conventional sense, a critic of the papacy. At a time when the popes were in dire need of a champion, she invested herself wholeheartedly in their service. She bolstered Gregory XI (1370–78) as he braced himself for his daunting return to Rome; she stood by the caustic and self-defeating Urban VI (1378–89) as celebrations over the papacy's return died down in the opening salvos of the Great Schism. At first glance, it might seem strange that a woman best known for the intense interiority of her private spiritual life should place herself in the very public arena of papal politics, but Catherine's service to the papacy was wholly consistent with the public ministry to which she was called. Indeed, Catherine never saw herself as a servant or agent of the popes; her labors on their behalf were merely part—albeit a crucial

part—of the greater mission to which she devoted herself in the final decade of her life.

Modern scholarship on Catherine's involvement with the papacy begins with Alfonso Capecelatro's elegant and erudite *Storia di santa Caterina da Siena e del papato del suo tempo* (1878). The imprint of the author—an Italian patriot and prominent ecclesiastic who eventually rose to the cardinalate—is apparent throughout the work. Profoundly and sometimes uncritically indebted to the *vita* of Catherine by "the most faithful narrator of the heavenly life of Benincasa," Raymond of Capua, it is also deeply imbued with the nationalist spirit of the *Risorgimento* and responsive to contemporary debates about the Church's place in the new Italian nation.[1] Capecelatro's Catherine is the patron saint of the papacy's restoration to its rightful seat in Rome; if she could not solve the intractable problem of the Great Schism, she succeeded at least in underscoring the essential link between the Roman papacy and a stable, well-ordered Italy.

Capecelatro's work has faced many scholarly challenges but continues to inform much of the received wisdom about Catherine's role in papal affairs. Catherine is the humble saint—a political naïf by worldly standards, but illuminated by supernal wisdom—who persuaded the well-intentioned but weak-willed Gregory XI to bring the papacy home and then spoke with the voice of angelic reason in the breaking storm of the Schism.[2] But Catherine's involvement with the papacy is more complex and perhaps less determinative than such a view would allow. She may have been humble, but she was not naive; she understood the political implications of her actions and knew how to assert her influence in the service of her goals. Even so, her influence may not have been as great as she desired. Gregory XI and Urban VI were very different men, to whom Catherine related in very different ways; personal dynamics inevitably impinged on Catherine's ability to inform their decisions. Nor were the popes and Catherine in complete accord about precisely what role Catherine should play. What Catherine wanted is revealed in her writings and especially in her extensive correspondence; what the popes intended is discernible in the actions

[1] Alfonso Capecelatro, *Storia di santa Caterina da Siena e del papato del suo tempo*, 4th ed. (Siena, 1878), p. 48.

[2] See, for example, the treatment in the classic work by Edmund Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in the Religion, Literature and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy* (London, 1907).

they pursued with respect to the great challenges facing the papacy in the final decades of the 14th century.

Italy and Avignon to 1370

The roots of the Avignon papacy can be traced to the tumultuous pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294–1303), whose ignominious death at Anagni provoked explosive conflicts in Italy. Rome quickly became so dangerous that Benedict XI (1303–04) fled the city for Perugia in April 1304. Benedict's Gascon successor, Clement V (1305–14), sought refuge in the more familiar environs of the Midi until the turmoil in Italy subsided. In 1309, he settled at Avignon, where the popes would remain for longer than Clement ever imagined they would—though not for want of trying.[3] Clement ordered several legations to Italy but quickly discovered that the situation there already exceeded his ability to solve it. Aside from Cardinal Arnaud of Pellegrue's successful mission to Ferrara, Clement's Italian legations ended disastrously, as did the pope's misguided support for the ill-starred Italian adventure of Emperor Henry VII.[4] Pope John XXII (1316–34) took a much more aggressive approach to the crisis in Italy. In 1319, he invested Cardinal Bertrand de Poujet (1316–52) with the vast powers of the *legatus a latere*—the most powerful of papal envoys—and sent him to Italy to rein in Milan's Visconti *signori* and their allies in Lombardy.[5] In 1326,

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[3] For the complexities attending the "return question," and the varying degrees to which the popes committed themselves to it, see Eugenio Dupré Theseider, *I papi di Avignone e la questione romana* (Florence, 1939); Elisabeth Kraack, *Rom oder Avignon? Die römische Frage unter den Päpsten Clemens V. und Johann XII*, ed. Edmund E. Stengel, Marburger Studien zur älteren deutschen Geschichte 2.2 (Marburg, 1929).

[4] See Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, trans. Janet Love (London, 1963), pp. 67–76; Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 129–73. For Henry VII, see William M. Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310–1313* (Lincoln, Neb, 1960); Martin Thilo, *Das Recht der Entscheidung über Krieg und Frieden im Streite Kaiser Heinrichs VII. mit der römischen Kurie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von sacerdotium und imperium und des Wandels vom Weltimperium zum nationalen Köngitum*, Historische Studien 343 (Berlin, 1938).

[5] For the *legatus a latere*, see Robert Figueira, "The Classification of Medieval Papal Legates in the Liber Extra," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 21 (1983), 211–28; id., "Legatus apostolice sedis: The Pope's 'Alter Ego' According to Thirteenth-Century Canon Law," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 27 (1986), 527–47; and id., "Papal Reserved Powers and the Limitations on Legatine Authority," in *Popes, Teachers and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, eds. J.R. Sweeney and Stanley Chodorow (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), pp. 191–211. See also Kenneth Pennington, "Johannes Teutonicus and Papal Legates," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 21 (1983), 183–94; John W. Perrin, "Legatus, the Lawyers,

as Emperor Ludwig IV (1314–47) prepared his descent into Italy, the pope dispatched a second *legatus a latere*, Cardinal Giovanni Orsini (1316–35), to hold Tuscany and the Papal States against the emperor. Poujet especially proved a capable and determined envoy, and the legates drove Ludwig from Italy in 1330. In the end, however, they could not overcome the colossal odds before them. Both legations collapsed in the summer of 1334.[6]

John's ultimate failure prompted Benedict XII (1334–42) and Clement VI (1342–52) to pursue a more modest (and far less expensive) Italian policy. Benedict began and Clement completed the papal palace in Avignon—an emblem of their resignation to the possibility of a long-term residence there. The outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337 confronted them with an urgent new diplomatic priority, which they felt better equipped to address from Avignon than from Rome. Mounting instability in Romagna, the expansionist designs of the Milanese archbishop-*signore*, Giovanni Visconti (1317–54), the bizarre Roman tribunate of Cola di Rienzo, and the pope's desire to hold a Jubilee in Rome in 1350 eventually forced Clement to adopt a more energetic policy in the second half of his pontificate.[7] This in turn led Innocent VI (1352–62) to undertake an intensification of activity in Italy, unmatched since the time of John XXII. In 1353, he sent Cardinal Gil Álvarez Carrillo de Albornoz (1350–67) as *legatus a latere* to Italy. For the better part of 14 years, Albornoz engaged himself in the wide-ranging campaigns that finally enabled Urban V (1362–70) to become, in the spring of 1367, the first pope to stand on Italian soil in more than six decades.[8] But Italy reverted to anarchy

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and the Terminology of Power," *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967), 461–89; and Richard A. Schmutz, "Medieval Papal Representatives. Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate," *Studia Gratiana* 15 (1972), 441–63.

[6] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 76–110; Giovanni Tabacco, *La casa di Francia nell'azione politica di papa Giovanni XXII* (Rome, 1953); H. Otto, "Zur italienischen Politik Johanns XXII.," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 14 (1911), 140–265. For Poujet's mission, see Carol A. Marcus, "The Mission of Bertrand de Poujet, the Legate of Lombardy (1320–1334): The First Seven Years" (M.S.L. Thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1977); Lisetta Ciaccio, *Il cardinal legato Bertrando del Poggetto in Bologna (1327–1334)*, Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Romagna, ser. 3, 23 (1904–05). For Orsini, see Blake Beattie, *Angelus Pacis: The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, 1326–1334* (Leiden, 2007).

[7] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 110–25.

[8] For Albornoz, see Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 125–46; Peter Partner, *The Lands of St Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*

after Albornoz's death at Viterbo in August 1367, and Urban retreated to Avignon, shortly before his own death at the end of 1370.[9] It was left to Urban's successor, Gregory XI, to decide what to do with the opportunities made available by the labors of Albornoz and Urban V; and it was Gregory's decision that ultimately thrust Catherine into the maelstrom of 14th-century papal politics.

Catherine of Siena and the Papacy

Catherine's early life was spent in the flurry of papal activity in Italy initiated by Clement VI. She was six when Albornoz began hurling his thunderbolts up and down the peninsula; indeed, Catherine belonged to a generation that could not remember a time when the great Castilian cardinal had not loomed over the affairs of Italy. It is particularly noteworthy just how many of the major events of Catherine's spiritual coming of age coincided with Urban V's abortive return to Italy. Her "spiritual espousals" took place less than a year before Urban's historic journey. Three years later, Catherine experienced the famous visions which brought her out of seclusion and into active engagement with the wider world, during the very summer in which the dispirited pope was preparing to return to Avignon. The formation of nearly her entire consciousness—as an Italian, as a Tuscan, as a Sienese, as a holy woman, with a deep concern for the well-being of the Church—took place against the backdrop of the papacy's efforts at returning to Rome.

Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that engagement with the papacy came to occupy a central place in Catherine's public ministry. Catherine saw herself as an apostolic figure, with a mission to bring about comprehensive reform to the Church and to the whole

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(London, 1972), pp. 339–60. There are a great many studies in the Bolognese series Studia Albornotiana edited by Evelio Verdera y Tuells, e.g., Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Egidio de Albornoz e la riconquista dello Stato della Chiesa," in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, Studia Albornotiana 11 (Bologna, 1972), pp. 433–59; and Paolo Colliva, *Il cardinale Albornoz, lo Stato della Chiesa e le "Constitutiones Aegidianae" (1353–1357)*, Studia Albornotiana 32 (Bologna, 1977).

[9] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 146–60; Ludwig Vones, *Urban V: Kirchenreform zwischen Kardinalkollegium, Kurie und Klientel*, Päpste und Papsttum 28 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 446–57.

of Christian society.[10] She was the product of a medieval Italian urban milieu in which the spiritual and the secular constantly intersected, to the point of precluding clear distinctions;[11] she did not exclude herself from participation in an elusive "political sphere" whose autonomy she could hardly have recognized. For Catherine, the spiritual state of the individual Christian, the integrity of the institutional Church, and the proper ordering of Christian society comprised an organic whole: the health of any one part was contingent on the health of the others. Thus, even at its most overtly "spiritual," Catherine's ministry always retained a highly "political" dimension.

When Catherine first stepped onto the public stage in the late 1360s, she was already well-equipped to participate in the political life of her native Siena and, later, Tuscany more broadly. Her brothers, with their attachments to the important civic faction known as the *Dodici*, provided her with valuable connections and considerable knowledge of Sienese politics. Her circle, or *famiglia*, included many young laymen from Siena's leading families; her Dominican associates afforded access to some of the most powerful people in Florence. She acquired her most important contact in 1374, when the Dominican Chapter General at Florence appointed Raymond of Capua (1330–99) as her confessor and spiritual director. A rising star in the order and a scion of the prominent delle Vigne family, Raymond provided Catherine with access to a far-flung social and ecclesiastical network.[12] It is no coincidence that Catherine's active involvement in papal affairs began almost immediately after she entered into her association with Raymond.[13]

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[10] See Karen Scott, "St Catherine of Siena, *Apostola*," *Church History* 61.1 (1992), 34–46.

[11] See Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, 2005), esp. pp. 103–40.

[12] See A.W. van Ree, O.P., "Raymond de Capoue. Éléments biographiques," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 33 (1963), 159–241, esp. 163 n. 2.

[13] See John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), p. 174. For a thorough accounting of Catherine's political activities, see F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006). For the formation of her Sienese and Tuscan networks, see pp. 58–63; for her *famiglia* of followers, pp. 123–56; for the "*bella brigata*" of young aristocrats at its core, pp. 147–56.

Catherine's writings reveal what was in many respects a very traditional view of the papacy.[14] For Catherine, the pope was not only the vicar of Peter[15] and the Vicar of Christ[16] but also was Christ on Earth.[17] She favored the familiar images of the pope as shepherd[18] and as spiritual father, and in one letter she even characterizes Gregory XI the mother of the faithful, nursing her children at the breasts of divine charity: "You feed and nurture faithful Christians. You are the mother who nurses us at the breasts of divine charity, giving us neither blood without fire nor fire without blood."[19] Catherine saw papal authority as most properly applied to the maintenance of a pure and holy Church by means of continuous reform: the eradication of simony; the moral emendation of the clergy; and the correction of ecclesiastical abuses and misgovernment.[20] The pope was subject to human failings (which she often pointed out to Gregory XI and Urban VI), but these had no bearing on his unassailable authority. Even when Catherine was willing to allow, for example, that the Italian cities had been mistreated by papal officials, she could never see their rebellion against the pope as anything but grievously sinful.[21] Catherine acknowledged no right to stand in opposition to the pope. In this respect, she was in complete accord with the claims of Boniface VIII: there is no salvation outside

[14] Étienne Delaruelle, E.-R. Labande, and Paul Ourliac, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378–1449)*, Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours 14, 2 vols (Paris, 1962–64), 2:514.

[15] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte con note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, ed. Piero Misciattelli, 6 vols (Florence, 1939–47), CCVI, 3:202–205, at p. 204; CCXVIII, 3:260–65, at p. 261.

[16] Ibid., CCXXXIII, 4:5–6, at p. 6.

[17] Catherine of Siena, *Libro della divina dottrina volgarmente detto Dialogo della divina Provvidenza*, eds. Matilde Fiorilli and Santino Caramella, 2nd edn (Bari, 1928), cap. cxv, p. 231; cap. cxvi, p. 232; cap. cxxvii, p. 269; cap. cliv, p. 364. The theme of pope as *Cristo in terra* is also prominent in Catherine's letters.

[18] E.g., Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXIX, 3:307–09.

[19] *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans, Suzanne Noffke, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 4 vols (Tempe, 2000–08), Letter T270/G12, 2:343. For the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLXX, 4:153–57: "Voi pascete e nutricate li fedeli Cristiani: voi sete quella madre che alle mamelle della divina carità ci notricate; perocchè non ci date sangue senza fuoco, nè fuoco senza sangue." For parallel imagery as applied to Christ, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 173–74.

[20] Catherine of Siena, *Libro della divina dottrina*, eds. Fiorilli and Caramella, cap. cxxvii, 269; cf Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXXVIII, 4:20–24.

[21] See, e.g., Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CXCVI, 3:160–63.

the Church; and it is necessary for salvation that every human creature be subject to the Roman pontiff.[22]

The most powerful testimony to Catherine's position on papal authority is the letter she wrote, just after the election of Clement VII (1378–94) in September 1378,[23] to the three Italian cardinals—Pietro Corsini (1370–1405), Jacopo Orsini (1371–79), and Simone Brossano (1375–81)—who had abandoned Urban VI and fled with their confreres to Anagni in the summer of 1378. It opens with a typical salutation, *carissimi fratelli e padri in Cristo dolce Gesù*; these are the last civil words in a letter otherwise festooned with the imagery of excrement and putrescence, poison and heresy, devils and worms. There is no tactful circumvention; Catherine denounces the three cardinals as heretics and ungrateful cowards. She heaps scorn on their assertion that the cardinals had only acquiesced to Urban's election out of fear of the Roman mob and casts doubt on their claim that they had taken no part in the conclave that elected the antipope. In any case, it hardly mattered: their very presence made them culpable in Clement's election. The letter concludes with Catherine expressing deep sorrow (though "fury" might come closer to the mark) at the cardinals' actions and imploring them to come to their senses and return to the obedience of the true pope.[24]

The letter is anything but typical. Earlier letters suggest that Catherine had rather unfavorable opinions of Pietro Corsini[25] and (especially) Jacopo Orsini, whom she once accused of being a "stinking flower" in the garden of the Church;[26] but the vehemence and bluntness of Catherine's criticisms in this letter are truly exceptional. Still, despite her uncharacteristically intemperate language, Catherine articulates a coherent and quite traditional position on papal authority. A canonically elected pope is elected *per spirazione divina*. His legitimacy transcends all human agency; to oppose him is heresy. Catherine acknowledges Urban's abusive temperament and admits that he had

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[22] See Catherine of Siena, *Libro della divina dottrina*, eds. Fiorilli and Caramella, cap. cliv, p. 364.

[23] For the dating of this letter, see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 3:218.

[24] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCX, 4:298–307.

[25] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXVII, 3:90–95.

[26] "O padre carissimo…Voi dovete essere fiore odorifero [nel giardino della santa Chiesa], e non puzzolente…" Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CI, 2:120–26, at p. 123. See also CCXXIII, 3:283–87.

subjected his cardinals to intolerable abuse,[27] but she cannot forgive them for following Judas in treachery.[28] She adds a brief but remarkable appeal to patriotism: if Christ on earth (Urban VI) is Italian, and the cardinals are Italian, then nothing but self-love (a peril against which she repeatedly warns in her letters) could explain their refusal to be moved by patriotic fervor—as the *oltramontani* were when they chose one of their own as Clement VII![29] Catherine comes very close to asserting a historic Italian claim to the papacy and to excusing the Gallic cardinals for their role in the Schism—they were Frenchmen; what could one expect of them? But the Italians should have known better.

Catherine sets forth her view of the papacy's place within a rightly ordered Christian society in arguably her most famous letter: the one she wrote at the beginning of April 1376 to Raymond of Capua and his companions in Avignon, in which she describes a vision she had had on the night of 1 April. God revealed to her that he had permitted the wicked to persecute the Church, in order to cleanse it of the unworthy and restore it to its primal condition. The persecution was nearing an end; the renewal and exaltation of the Church were at hand. Catherine then beheld a vision of Christians and unbelievers, entering the side of Christ crucified. For fruits of the trial to be realized, the papacy must be

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[27] *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T310/G31, 3:218–25, at p. 223: "Not only could you not endure correction for the deed itself, but even [Pope Urban's] sharp word of reproof made you rebellious. And this—I mean what influenced you—clearly shows us the truth, that before Christ on earth began to get on your nerves you acknowledged and reverenced him as Christ's vicar, which is what he is." For the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCX, 4:298–307, at p. 304: "Non poteste sostenere non solamente la correzione di fatto attualmente; ma la parola aspra reprensibile, vi fece levare il capo. E questo è la cagione perchè vi sete mossi. E ci dichiara ben la verità: che, prima che Cristo in terra vi cominciasse a mordere, voi il confessaste e riveriste come vicario di Cristo ch'egli è."

[28] *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T310/G31, 3:224: "Despite the fact that your father had treated you with nothing but reproach, you should not for all that have been Judases." For the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCX, 4:305: "Non ostante che il padre non avesse con voi usato altro che rimproverio, non dovevate però esse guida [*sic pro* Giuda]."

[29] *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T310/G31, 3:224: "But speaking humanly, since Christ on earth is Italian and you are Italian, I see no reason other than selfish love that patriotism could not move you as it did those from the other side of the mountains." For the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCX, 4:305–306: "…ma, parlando umanamente, Cristo in terra italiano, e voi Italiani, che non vi poteva muovere la passione della patria, come gli oltramontani: cagione non ci veggo, se non l'amore proprio."

returned forthwith to its rightful seat in Rome.[30] Catherine's language permits various interpretations of the vision, but the context of the letter makes certain non-negotiable demands. The "wicked persecutors" include the enemies of the Church in Italy and the opponents of the pope's return—itself a prerequisite to the "sweet and holy" crusade[31] and the conversion of the infidels. Indeed, according to Raymond of Capua, the revival of the crusade was Catherine's primary objective in bringing the pope back to Rome.[32] The papacy's return, the reform of the Church, the crusade and the conversion of the world: all were inextricably linked for Catherine, and she was willing to devote the last five years of her life to their fruition.

Catherine and Gregory XI

Raymond of Capua's *vita* of Saint Catherine includes a memorable account of Catherine's first meeting with Gregory XI at the end of June 1376, shortly after she arrived in Avignon. Raymond acted as interpreter, for Catherine did not know Latin and the pope could not speak Italian. At one point, Catherine complained about the morals of the papal court: "where there ought to be a paradise of heavenly virtues, she found instead the stench of infernal vices."[33] When Gregory asked how Catherine had managed to discern the state of the curia so soon after her arrival, she underwent a striking transformation. Rising from her humble posture before the papal throne, she assumed an aspect of great majesty, declaring,

> For the honor of almighty God I dare say that, even while I was in my native city, I was more aware of the stench of the sins that are committed

[30] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXIX, 3:266–270. For the dating of the letter, see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 2:90. Catherine addresses many of the same issues in her *Libro della divina dottrina*, eds. Fiorilli and Caramella, cap. cxvi, pp. 232–35.

[31] E.g., Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXXIX, 4:25–31, at pp. 25–31.

[32] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B at col. 924E–F. (Henceforth referred to as *Legenda maior.*)

[33] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.3.152.891D. "Dumque me interpretante loquerentur ad invicem, sacra virgo conquesta est, quod in Romana curia, ubi deberet paradisus esse coelicarum virtutum, inveniebat foetorem infernalium vitiorum." See Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*.

> in the Roman curia than are even those who committed them and commit them now on a daily basis.[34]

The pope sat in stunned silence; for Raymond, Catherine's transformation left an indelible impression.

The story captures the essence of Catherine's relationship with Gregory XI. When the meeting begins, she is hunched submissively before the pope, at pains to display proper reverence, speaking through her bilingual interlocutor. But on a matter of acute moral clarity, she casts all deference aside, standing tall and speaking with the undiluted authority of a prophet. Significantly, Raymond removes himself from the conversation here: Catherine now speaks directly to the pope, without any mediation. Yet, she never quite answers the pope's question. She tells him *that* she knew of the curia's sinfulness, without ever telling him what he really wanted to know: *how—quomodo*—she knew of it. Catherine addresses the pope with great prophetic certainty, without indicating the means on which her knowledge was predicated. For Gregory, it hardly matters. He accepts Catherine's authority without question; indeed, in asking how she knew of the curia's immorality, he tacitly corroborates her accusation. This dynamic pervades Catherine's momentous relationship with the last of the popes of Avignon.

As much as any man of the Middle Ages, Gregory XI had been groomed for the throne of St Peter. Born Pierre Roger de Beaufort into the Limousine aristocracy, he was not yet 20 years old when he was raised to the cardinalate in 1348 by his uncle, Clement VI. He inherited Clement's sense of courtly refinement, but tempered it with an austere spirituality that was very much his own. Educated in law at Perugia and immersed throughout his adult life in the culture of the curia, he was just 41 when he was elected pope in 1370—the youngest pope since Innocent III, more than a century and a half earlier.[35] As early as 1372, he publicly declared his intention to return to Rome immediately and then spent the next four years agonizing over the

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[34] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.3.152.891E: "Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei audeo dicere, quod plus percepi foetorem peccatorum quae in Romana curia committuntur, existens in civitate mea unde nata sum, quam percipiant ipsi qui ea commiserunt et committunt quotidie."

[35] For Gregory, see Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 59–63; Antoine Pélissier, *Grégoire XI ramène la Papauté à Rome: Troisième pape limousin (1370–1378)* (Dordogne, 1962); Pierre Ronzy, *Le voyage de Grégoire XI ramenant la Papauté d'Avignon à Rome (1376–1377)* (Florence, 1952); Paul R. Thibault, *Pope Gregory XI. The Failure of Tradition* (Lanham, Md., 1986).

decision. Catherinian scholarship has made much of Gregory's weakness and indecision ("vacillating" is a favorite adjective),[36] but the divisions of Gregory's heart were deep and genuine. He firmly believed that the papacy belonged in Rome, and he realized that the state of affairs in Italy was probably more conducive to return than at any other point since 1305. At the same time, however, he remained distracted by the continuation of Anglo-French conflict and found himself deeply troubled after 1374 by the threat of war with Florence. Moreover, as a cardinal in the train of Urban V, he had witnessed the parlous state into which Rome had fallen, an impoverished and lawless city encircled with miasmal swamps. Most of Gregory's cardinals openly counseled against return, as Catherine noted with distaste in a letter of August 1376,[37] and King Charles V (1364–80) put unrelenting pressure on Gregory to remain in Avignon. Froissart records that in 1376 the king sent his brother, Duke Louis of Anjou, to convince the pope to remain in Avignon. When Gregory insisted that his mind was made up, Louis issued dire warnings about the treachery of the Italians and the dangers of Rome—the very things that Gregory himself most dreaded.[38]

To overcome the opposition—and, perhaps, his own misgivings—Gregory had relied on St Birgitta of Sweden (1303–73), whose revelations had been instrumental in inspiring Urban V's return in 1367.[39] Birgitta's death in July 1373 robbed Gregory of a vital ally: a publicly acknowledged *sancta* whose visions lent compelling support to the pope's own aims against the objections of his detractors. The speed with which Gregory initiated Birgitta's canonization process is a testament to the importance he attached to her.[40] In Catherine, Gregory found Birgitta's heir apparent.[41] Though not a visionary in the way that Birgitta had been, Catherine believed that she was divinely guided, and the pope was inclined to agree. For Catherine's part, Gregory provided the key to her entire public ministry as an apostolic reformer.[42] The

[36] See, for example, Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, pp. 185–88.
[37] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXXI, 3:313–315.
[38] Jean Froissart, *Les Chroniques*, lib. II, cap. xii.
[39] For Urban and Birgitta, see Vones, *Urban V*, 7–15. For Gregory and Birgitta, see Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, pp. 101–05.
[40] See Claire L. Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 30.
[41] Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*, p. 172.
[42] See Scott, "St Catherine of Siena, *Apostola*," p. 37.

pope needed Catherine's moral authority to assist him in returning to Rome; Gregory's return would effect the conditions necessary to the reform which Catherine envisioned. It was a perfect convergence of interests and needs.

But Gregory's preparations for return were complicated by the growing estrangement of Florence, a traditional papal stalwart in Italy whose alienation finally culminated in the War of the Eight Saints (1375–78). Named for the *Otto della Guerra* to whom the Florentine *signoria* entrusted the prosecution of the war, the conflict grew out of a complex tangle of factors. The prospect of the pope's return excited fears in Florence about papal ambitions in Tuscany; Gregory, for his part, worried about Florentine designs in central Italy and was still aggrieved by the Florentines' refusal to support his war with the Milanese *signore*, Bernabò Visconti. Relations deteriorated further when papal officials in Bologna withheld grain from Florence during the famine of 1374, and when Gregory made peace with Visconti in June 1375, many Florentines feared that papal forces would be diverted to an invasion of Tuscany. Playing on widespread resentment of the pope's heavy-handed and unpopular Gallic officials, the Florentines began courting cities throughout northern and central Italy to create a grand coalition that eventually came to include Siena, Bologna, Perugia, Orvieto, Viterbo, and Milan.[43]

The eruption of the war in the summer of 1375 coincided with (and possibly activated) Catherine's entry into papal politics. Horrified by the ferocity of the conflict and fearing its effects on the pope's return, Catherine threw herself into a frenzy of diplomatic activity, traveling from one city to the next and issuing a barrage of letters in a desperate effort to halt the conflict as quickly as possible. In the spring of 1376, she sent Raymond of Capua to Avignon and journeyed to Florence. Here she gained the ear of Niccolò Soderini, a leading figure in the commune. Soderini may have helped Catherine to secure appointment as a Florentine envoy of sorts to the pope, though it is not entirely clear whether Catherine's subsequent journey to Avignon can be

[43] For the War of the Eight Saints, see Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 160–73; Gene A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 244–96 (for the complex events leading up to the conflict), pp. 297–335 (for the war itself). For the changing character of papal and Florentine relations up to the war, see Peter Partner, "Florence and the Papacy, 1300–1375," in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. John R. Hale et al. (London, 1965), pp. 76–121.

considered "official." She was snubbed by a Florentine delegation when she arrived, and it may be telling that, while Catherine wrote many letters to prominent Florentines (including Soderini), she sent only one to the *Otto di Guerra*, shortly after reaching Avignon.[44] In any case, whether as an official (or semi-official) envoy or on her own authority, she remained in Avignon throughout the summer, pleading with Gregory, both in person and in the half-dozen letters she wrote to him in Avignon,[45] to make peace and to return without delay. Gregory departed for Italy in September, but Catherine remained in Avignon for two more months before returning to Italy and resuming her tireless quest for peace in the aftermath of the pope's arrival.

Ultimately, Catherine's diplomacy had little effect on the course of the war, whose conduct and conclusion were determined by far less pacific souls. Papal forces were led at first by the famed English *condottiere*, Sir John Hawkwood. When Hawkwood transferred his services to the anti-papal league in May 1377, prosecution of the war passed to the papal legate to Lombardy and Tuscany, Cardinal Robert of Geneva (1371–78), whose ferocity quickly became notorious; in a particularly infamous episode, the legate's Breton mercenaries massacred some 4,000 rioters in Cesena in February 1377. But Robert's severity was not without effect. He forced the capitulation of Bologna, whose peace with the pope (July 1377) was a serious blow to the league. As other cities submitted to the legate, the increasingly isolated Florentines entered into negotiations with the pope. These effectively collapsed at the end of October, when the Florentine *signoria* ordered the clergy to violate the interdict under which the city had lain since January; the bishop, Angelo Ricasoli, fled in protest. By then the war had apparently put strains on Gregory's relationship with Catherine.[46] Many months would pass before domestic unrest forced the *signoria* to make peace at the end of July 1378—just in time for the Ciompi

[44] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXX, 3:310–12 (28 June 1376). Mollat, for one, rejects the claim by Raymond of Capua that Catherine acted on behalf of the commune, claiming that the *Otto di Guerra* would never have consented to Catherine's mission (*The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 166–67). Certainly, Catherine was not on favorable terms with the *Otto* (Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p. 333). For Catherine and the War of the Eight Saints, see Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena*, pp. 157–202.

[45] See below, footnote 67.

[46] Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, pp. 224–26.

Revolt.[47] By that time, Gregory XI would be dead, a new pope would sit on the throne of St Peter, and Catherine would find herself confronted with a crisis far greater than the "Babylonian Captivity."

Catherine and Urban VI

The papacy's return was a great triumph for Catherine and for Pope Gregory XI, though the man once known as Pierre Roger de Beaufort found it less than satisfying. The journey was long and difficult: it took Gregory two weeks to sail from Marseilles to Genoa; he did not reach Corneto until early December 1376 and only entered Rome on 17 January 1377. The War of the Eight Saints was the worst of many disappointments that left him deeply disheartened by his experience in Italy. To his credit, he was determined to stay, and at the beginning of March 1378, he entered serious negotiations with Florence at a conference chaired by none other than that old troublemaker, Bernabò Visconti. By the end of the month, however, Gregory's arduous labors had finally taken their toll on his fragile health. He died in the small hours of 27 March; it is alleged that, on his deathbed, he warned the cardinals against heeding the advice of "busy-body women."[48]

What followed is well known to historians of the 14th-century Church. Sixteen cardinals gathered in Rome to elect a new pope.[49] Fearing the election of another Gallic pope who would abscond to Avignon, a Roman mob descended on the Vatican palace and demanded the election of a Roman or at the very least an Italian. At one point, rioters entered the palace; the cardinals held them at bay by pretending that they elected an elderly Roman cardinal, Francesco dei Tebaldeschi (1368–78). Then, on 8 April, they announced the election of Bartolommeo Prignano, who styled himself Urban VI to declare his commitment to Rome. But Urban began to show signs of mental instability

[47] See Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp. 336–96.

[48] See "Appendix" in *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 3:361; see also the chapter by Thomas Luongo in this volume (particularly n. 3).

[49] These were Pietro Corsini, Jean de Cros, Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille II, Francesco Tebaldeschi, Bertrand Lagier, Robert of Geneva, Simone Brossano, Hugues de Montrelais, Guy de Malsec, Pierre de Sortenac, Gérard du Puy, Jacopo Orsini, Pierre Flandrin, Guillaume de Noëllet, Pierre de Vergne, and Pedro Martínez de Luna y Pérez de Gotor. Seven cardinals—Hugues de St-Martial, Gilles Aycelin, Anglic Grimoard, Pierre de Monteruc, Jean de Blauzac, Guillaume de Chanac, Jean de la Grange—were still in Avignon, overseeing the continuing translation of the curia.

almost as soon as he ascended the Throne of St Peter. As spring passed into summer, his increasingly erratic behavior and explosive temper drove the cardinals to Anagni, where in August they declared his election invalid, as having occurred under duress. Urban responded by deposing the lot and creating 24 new cardinals on 18 September 1378. (Catherine was unimpressed by Urban's choices: in January 1379, she wrote to complain that the new cardinals were becoming as greedy and immoral as the old ones.)[50] The "old" cardinals moved to Fondi, where, on 20 September, they elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva as Clement VII; of the 16 cardinals present,[51] only the Italians declined to vote, though they soon attached themselves to Clement's cause. After an unsuccessful attempt to seize Rome, Clement took refuge briefly in Naples before departing with his cardinals for Avignon in May 1379. The Great Schism had begun.[52]

Gregory's return had liberated Catherine for a while from the tribulations of papal politics. She spent much of 1377 in and around her native Siena, where she devoted herself to founding the convent of Santa Maria Regina Angelorum at Belcaro, an old fortress given to her by the reformed delinquent Nanni di Ser Vanni Savini.[53] In July, she traveled on behalf of the Sienese authorities to the Val d'Orcia, south of Siena, to reconcile the feuding factions of the powerful (and famously turbulent) Salimbeni family. It was here that she likely began her *Dialogo*, and it was during this time that Raymond was appointed as prior of the Dominican community at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Catherine returned to the pope's service early in 1378, when Gregory sent her to Florence to help negotiate peace, but she was forced to flee the city in June after an attempt on her life.[54]

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[50] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCLXIV, 5:248–52.

[51] Pietro Corsini, Jean de Cros, Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille II, Bertrand Lagier, Robert of Geneva, Simone Brossano, Hugues de Montrelais, Guy de Malsec, Jean de la Grange, Pierre de Sortenac, Gérard du Puy, Jacopo Orsini, Pierre Flandrin, Guillaume de Noëllet, Pierre de Vergne, and Pedro Martínez de Luna y Pérez de Gotor. Hugues de St-Martial, Gilles Aycelin, Anglic Grimoard, Pierre de Monteruc, Jean de Blauzac, and Guillaume de Chanac had not left Avignon; Francesco Tebaldeschi died shortly before Clement's election.

[52] Delaruelle, Labande, and Ourliac, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire*, 1:3–18.

[53] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.10.238.913A. For Nanni, see Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena*, pp. 132–35.

[54] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.12.264.919A–B; III.1.331.936F.

According to Raymond of Capua, Catherine had prophesied the Schism shortly before the death of Gregory XI.[55] When it broke, she returned in earnest to the service of another pope, very different from his predecessor. A Neapolitan by birth, Urban was about 60 at the time of his election. He was an expert canonist with a reputation for toughness, an ardor for reform, and none of Gregory's social grace or politesse. A prominent curialist before his election, he could boast a long and distinguished career that culminated in stints as archbishop of Acerenza (1363–77) and Bari (1377–78). But he had never been a cardinal; like Clement V and Urban V, he was often insecure with respect to the Sacred College, though in the case of Urban VI, that insecurity often manifested itself in violent outbursts at the very men who had elected him. In the most serious incident, he had six cardinals arrested and tortured on suspicion of conspiracy in 1385; five were executed.[56]

Urban was quick to recognize the potential benefits of Catherine's support and summoned her to Rome in November 1378. At first she demurred, protesting that her frequent travels had excited scandals, though, in the end, the ever-obedient daughter complied.[57] When she arrived, she roused Urban's demoralized cardinals with an impassioned sermon—it is hard to find another word for it—in which she exhorted them to take heart and promised that Providence would deliver them from this latest affliction.[58] She then returned to the tireless epistolary diplomacy in which she had immersed herself on behalf of Gregory XI. She wrote to Jeanne I (1343–82) of Naples[59] and Charles V

[55] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.284–285.924B–C.

[56] Delaruelle, Labande, and Ourliac, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire*, 1:57. For Urban's character, see id., pp. 6–15; John Holland Smith, *The Great Schism 1378* (New York, 1970), pp. 135–42; and Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1967), pp. 161–70.

[57] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.285–286.924C–D; III.1.332–333.937B/C.

[58] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.333.937C/D: "Summus autem pontifex ea visa gavisus est, voluitque coram cardinalibus, qui tunc aderant, quod verbum faceret exhortationis, potissime propter schisma, quod tunc incipiebat. Quod et perfecte fecit, animando unumquemque eorum ad fortem constantiam verbis et sententiis plurimis, ac ostendendo divinam providentiam semper adesse cuilibet, sed potissime cum sancta Ecclesia patitur: et concludendo, quod propter inchoatum schisma in nullo trepidare deberent, sed agere quae Dei sunt, et nullum timere." For a discussion of Catherine as preacher, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle's chapter in the present volume.

[59] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCXII, 5:9–15; CCCXVII, 5:42–50; CCCXLVIII, 5:170–75; CCCLXII, 5:238–44.

of France,[60] both of whom she hoped to detach from the antipope; she wrote to bishops and cardinals, friars and politicians, princes and city-states—in short, to almost anyone who might help end the Schism, with one notable exception: she never deigned to pen so much as a single word to Clement VII or the faithless cardinals who followed him into schism.

What Catherine did not do for Urban was travel. For Gregory, she had journeyed to Pisa, Florence, Avignon, Genoa, Siena, Rome, and elsewhere, both on her own initiative and at the pope's request. Under Urban, she established a central base in Rome, where she remained until her death. Raymond of Capua offers a tantalizing glimpse at Catherine's *famiglia* in Rome, suggesting that it may have acquired something like the formal function of a prelate's *familia*, complete with official assignments and work-schedules.[61] Certainly, Catherine was still willing to travel on the pope's behalf. She responded enthusiastically to Urban's proposal that she undertake a mission to Naples with Katarina of Sweden (Birgitta's daughter and herself a future saint). Katarina, however, was more skeptical, and Raymond of Capua was so concerned for the women's safety that he convinced the pope to cancel the mission—to Catherine's considerable irritation.[62] But Catherine's extreme asceticism[63] had undermined her health to the point that travel was no longer an option. In December 1378, possibly at Catherine's urging, the pope sent Raymond on a mission to the French court. Raymond never made it to Paris. He was forced to return to Genoa, first when he learned of a plot against his life, and later, in May 1379, when he learned that Pedro IV of Aragon (1336–87), through whose territories Raymond needed to travel, had embraced the cause of the antipope. It was precisely the sort of journey which Catherine

[60] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCL, 5:180–87.

[61] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.16.302.928D: "Ordoque talis datus erat per virginem istam sacram, quod quilibet ex dictis mulieribus, septimana una paratricis, et dispensatricis exequeretur officium, ut alii et aliae possunt vacare Deo et actionibus seu peregrinationibus, pro quibus ad sanctam urbem perficiendis accesserant." For cardinals' *familiae* in the 14th century, see Pierre Jugie, "Les familiae cardinalices et leur organisation interne au temps de la papauté d'Avignon: Esquisse d'un bilan," in *Le fonctionnement administratif de la papauté d'Avignon. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École Française de Rome avec le concours de CNRS, du Conseil général de Vaucluse et de l'Université d'Avignon (Avignon, 23–24 janvier 1988)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 138 (Rome, 1990), pp. 41–59.

[62] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.334–335.937E/F.

[63] See Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 165–80, esp. pp. 166–72.

herself would once have undertaken; now, she had to content herself with chiding Raymond when his courage failed him.[64]

Raymond's aborted mission to France was all too typical of Catherine's broadly unsuccessful efforts on Urban's behalf, though she did live long enough to witness an important symbolic triumph. On 29 April 1379—exactly one year before Catherine's death—Urban's mercenaries wrested Castel Sant'Angelo from the Clementine forces that had seized it after Clement's election; without any hope of establishing himself in Rome, the antipope soon afterward left Italy forever. The recapture of Sant'Angelo permitted Urban to take up residence for the first time in St Peter's; at Catherine's suggestion, he entered the basilica barefoot, in the manner of a penitent.[65] Otherwise, she could do very little for the Urbanist cause in the final year of her life. The crowned heads of Christendom had too much at stake in the rivalry between Rome and Avignon for any one woman, however sainted, to turn the tide. The Schism would grind on past the deaths of Urban VI and Clement VII, through the successions of Boniface IX (1389–1404) and Benedict XIII (1394–1423) and the eruption of a third obedience with the election of Alexander V (1409–10) at Pisa, until it finally staggered to a halt at the Council of Constance with the election of Martin V (1417–31), more than 37 years after Catherine departed this earthly life.

Catherine's Correspondence with the Popes

Catherine of Siena may be the most famous correspondent of the Middle Ages; she was certainly one of the most prolific, with more than 370 letters to a remarkable variety of recipients. The great majority were likely dictated (despite the reports that Catherine miraculously learned to write in 1377), but Catherine's authorship is indisputable: every letter bears the distinctive stylistic and personal imprint of its inimitable author. Catherine's papal correspondence accounts for only a very small percentage of her total epistolary output, but it sheds

[64] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.335–336.937F–938C; see also the consolatory letter that Catherine sent to Raymond; Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCXLIV, 5:148–49, where she speaks of her own willingness to die for a godly cause.

[65] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.333–334.937C/E.

valuable light on Catherine's relationship with the two pontiffs to whose service she devoted so much time and energy.

Catherine wrote at least 15 letters to Gregory XI, of which 14 survive.[66] All date from the period between January 1376 and April 1377; six were written while Catherine was in Avignon; only two date to the period after Gregory's return to Rome in January 1377.[67] Hence, most of the letters concern themselves with the pope's return and with the issues surrounding the War of the Eight Saints. The major themes appear in Catherine's oldest extant letter to Gregory, written at the end of January 1376. Catherine calls on Gregory to forsake his selfish desires and apply himself to implementing God's will—in this case, the papacy's return—in imitation of his namesake and forebear, Pope Gregory I. She urges him to hold firm in the face of the unrest in Italy, which she blames on the misrule of papal officials who had driven certain "putrid members" into rebellion; and she implores him to return

[66] The earliest of Catherine's extant letters to Gregory dates from the beginning of 1376. See *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T185/G1/DT54, 1:244–51. Catherine had written to Gregory at least once prior to that time, as she notes in a letter to the Dominicans Bartolomeo Dominici and Caffarini, written around Palm Sunday 1374 (Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CXXVII, 2:227–30, at p. 230); see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T127/G117/DT20, 1:38–41, at p. 40.

[67] The letters, arranged chronologically according to their dating in Noffke, are: Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXXV, 3:122–29 (January 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T185/G1/DT54, 1:244–51); CXCVI, 3:160–63 (February 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T196/G4/DT64, 2:18–21); CCVI, 3:202–05 (late March 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T206/G5/DT63, 2:61–64); CCXXIX, 3:307–09 (mid-May 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T229/G6/DT69, 2:189–91); CCLV, 4:83–85 (18–22 June 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T255/G13/DT171, 2:192–94); CCXVIII, 3:260–65 (28 June–5 July 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T218/G3/DT74, 2:198–202); CCXXXIII, 4:5–6 (c. 14 August 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T233/G8/DT76, 2:212–14); CCXXXI, 3:313–15 (mid-August 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T231/G7/DT77, 2:215–18); CCXXXVIII, 4:20–24 (early September 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T238/G9/DT80, 2:233–35); CCXXXIX, 4:25–31 (early September 1376; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T239/G10/DT81, 2:243–48); CCLII, 4:68–72 (15 December 1376–13 January 1377; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T252/G11/DT88, 2:269–73); CCLXXXV, 4:206–09 (late January 1377; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T285/G14, 2:288–91); CCIX, 3:214–19 (after 17 January, perhaps after 3 February 1377; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T209/G2, 2:298–302); and CCLXX, 4:153–57 (16 April 1377; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T270/G12, 2:343–47).

to Rome, where his children await him.[68] After apologizing for speaking so frankly, she informs the pope that she had traveled to Pisa and Lucca on his behalf, warns him that both cities were leaning dangerously toward rebellion, and urges him to contact the cities' leaders, especially Catherine's friend, Piero Gambacorta, *signore* of Pisa. In a final section, Catherine remarks on Gregory's most recent creation of cardinals (December 1375) and offers some unsolicited advice:

> I heard that you have appointed some cardinals. I believe it would be to God's honor and better for you to be careful always to choose virtuous men. Otherwise it will be a great insult to God and disastrous to holy Church. And then let's not be surprised if God sends us his chastening sources, and justly. I beg you to do courageously and with fear of God what you have to do.[69]

One need not descry an implicit criticism of Gregory's new cardinals; Catherine may not yet even have known their identities.[70] Still, the passage betrays a hint of disapproval for some of the men who had attained the cardinalate in the not-so-distant past and posits a direct relationship between the moral state of the curia and the success of its endeavors. Catherine concludes by discussing the rumor that the pope intended to promote the Dominican Master-General, Élie de Toulouse; she begs him to provide the Order with "a good and virtuous vicar" and instructs him to discuss the matter with the papal secretary, Niccolò da Osimo, and the archbishop of Otranto, Jacopo da Itri—to whom Catherine promised to write concerning the matter![71]

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[68] "…questi putridi membri che hanno ribellato a voi" (Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXXV, 3:127).

[69] *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T185/G1/DT54, 1:244–51, at p. 250. For the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXXV, 3:128: "Qui ho inteso che avete fatto i Cardinali. Credo che sarebbe onore di Dio, e meglio di noi, che attendeste sempre di fare uomini virtuosi. Se si farà il contrario, sarà grande vituperio di Dio, e guastamento della santa Chiesa. Non ci maravigliamo poi, se Dio ci manda le discipline e i flagelli suoi; perocchè giusta così è. Pregovi che facciate virilmente ciò che avete a fare, e con timore di Dio." Note that Noffke uses the second person ("better for *you*") where Misciattelli has the first person (*meglio di* noi).

[70] These were: the Cluniac archbishop of Rouen, Pierre de la Jugié (d. 1376); the archbishop of Milan, Simone Brossano (d. 1381); the bishop of St-Brieuc, Hugues de Montrelais (d. 1384); the abbot of Cîteaux, Jean de Bussière (d. 1376); the bishop of Poitiers, Guy de Malsec (d. 1412); the Benedictine bishop of Amiens, Jean de la Grange (d. 1402); the bishop of Viviers, Pierre de Sortenac (d. 1390); the Cluniac abbot of Marmoutier, Gérard de Puy (d. 1389); and Pedro Martínez de Luna y Pérez de Gotor—the future Avignonese antipope Benedict XIII (1394–1423).

[71] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXXV, 3:127–29.

The letter establishes patterns which recur time and time again in Catherine's correspondence to Gregory. The tone is remarkably personal and intimate; it is unlikely that any other figure in Christendom would presume to address the pope as "my sweetest daddy."[72] The term forms the linchpin of the carefully conceived personal dynamic by which Catherine positioned herself with respect to the pope. She begins by deprecating herself as the pope's "unworthy, poor, miserable little daughter Catherine, servant and slave of the servants of Jesus Christ."[73] The latter phrase in particular is noteworthy; its conscious recollection of the papal descriptor *servus servorum Dei* gives it special resonance here. Much of the letter takes the form of a personalized homily, in which Catherine very clearly establishes what she expects the pope to do. Catherine's apology for her candor is formulaic and intended to soften what the pope might easily read as presumptuousness; in other letters, she often apologizes for "her foolishness" as well. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity with which she professes her humility, but it remains; all the same, a very particular type of humility, from which Catherine speaks, in the fullness of the prophetic tradition, with infallible confidence and authority.

There is considerable variation in subject-matter, content, and tone in the rest of Catherine's letters to Gregory. Many begin with quasi-homiletic reflections on pertinent moral subjects, such as love,[74] moral courage,[75] strength and patience,[76] and pride.[77] Some address very specific subjects, such as the crusade proposed by Duke Louis of Anjou in 1376 (for which Catherine naturally showed great enthusiasm).[78] Others cover many different subjects.[79] Through them all, the great themes recur: the dangers of clerical corruption and the misgovernment of papal officials in Italy; the wisdom of choosing peace over war; above

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[72] "Oimé, oimé, dolcissimo Babbo mio!" (Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXXV, 3:124).

[73] "…la vostra indegna, misera, miserabile figliuola Caterina, serva' e schiava de' servi di Gesù Cristo" (Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CLXXXV, 3:122).

[74] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CXCVI, 3:160–63; CCXXIX, 3:307–09; CCLXXXV, 4:206–09.

[75] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXXIII, 4:5–6.

[76] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLII, 4:68–72.

[77] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXXIX, 4:25–31.

[78] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXXXVIII, 4:20–24.

[79] E.g., Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLII, 4:68–72; CCLXXXV, 4:206–09.

all, perhaps, the insistent plea for the pope's return. Yet, the formulae do not obscure the contours of an authentic human relationship. In June 1376, Catherine's exasperation at the pope's lack of resolution led her to write a lacerating letter in which she all but accuses Gregory of being unworthy of his divinely granted authority—and then concludes, after the obligatory apology for her presumption, with an almost impish admonishment: "Don't make me call on the crucified Christ about you, since I can't call on anyone else, because there is no one on earth greater than you!"[80] Thus, Catherine appears simultaneously as unworthy subject, moral superior, and playful, teasing daughter. The letter neatly encapsulates a relationship in which affection, respect, disappointment, and encouragement ran together in a manner which only the complex realities of personal intimacy can allow. But that relationship evaporated after Gregory returned to Rome. In her last letter to the pope (April 1377), Catherine makes a final plea for peace, exhorts him to reform the Church, expresses her fervent desire to visit him in Rome, and finally asks him to bless her new convent at Belcaro.[81] It is a fitting end to Catherine's correspondence with the pope. She did not trouble him again about his war with Florence, and she never did visit him in Rome. As her concluding remarks suggest, Gregory's return had freed her to pursue other priorities.

The intensely personal character of Catherine's letters to Gregory is less apparent in her eight letters to Urban VI.[82] These concern themselves chiefly, of course, with the opening of the Great Schism, which gave Catherine an opportunity to reiterate her urgent calls for reform

[80] "Fate si che io non mi richiami a Cristo crocifisso di voi; chè ad altro non mi posso richiamare, che non ci è maggiore in terra" (Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLV, 4:85).

[81] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCLXX, 4:153–57.

[82] The letters, arranged chronologically according to their dating in Noffke, are: Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXCI, 4:221–28 (very early July 1378; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T291/G15, 3:151–55); CCCV, 4:277–82 (18 September 1378; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T305/G17. 3:213–17); CCCVI, 4:282–86 (5 October 1378; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T306/G18, 3:283–86); CCCXLVI, 5:161–64 (late December 1378; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Letter T346/G19, Noffke, 4:55–59); CCCLI, 5:187–91 (30 May 1379; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T351/G20, 4:204–07); CCCII, 4:269–71 (late June 1379, early September 1379, or mid-January 1380; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T302/G16, 4:215–18); CCCLXIV, 5:270–73 (c. 1 January 1380; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T364/G21, 4:350–53); and CCCLXXI, 5:273–78 (30 January 1380; *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T370/G22, 4:354–57).

and her anxiety about this latest impediment to the crusade. Catherine knew well the hearts of the popes to whom she wrote. In Gregory XI she discerned a certain lack of resolve that needed to be galvanized from without; in Urban she detected a much more troubling deficiency of charity and humility. Indeed, her earliest letter to Urban begins by reflecting on the fire of divine charity;[83] another is essentially a meditation on bitterness (*amaritudine*).[84] Certainly, Catherine did not blame Urban for the Schism, which she ascribed to many causes. In a characteristic example of her occasional disjuncture from "ordinary ego boundaries,"[85] she even attributed it, at least in part, to her own sinfulness.[86] But without exonerating the rebellious cardinals—in one letter, she calls them "demons incarnate" who have brought forth an earthly antichrist—she implores Urban repeatedly to reflect on his own role in effecting their alienation.[87] The pope is still her *babbo*, and she can be quite warm in addressing him, as in the consolatory letter she wrote to him after the election of Clement VII.[88] Mostly, though, she seems to express her longing—without much sense of hope—to see the pope enlightened by the spirit of divine love, so that the terrible schism might end, the Church might be reformed, and Christendom might be returned to its proper path. Even when congratulating Urban on his victory at Sant'Angelo, Catherine felt compelled to recall him to the humility he had demonstrated in his procession to St Peter's.[89] There is a hint of weariness in Catherine's letters to Urban that is absent from her letters to Gregory. By the end, she seems to have known that she would not live to see this latest crisis resolved. Indeed, toward the end of her penultimate letter to Urban, Catherine seems to allude somewhat cryptically to her impending death:

> Be patient with me, for I will never, as long as I live, cease prodding you in prayer and in person and in writing—until I see what I desire in you

[83] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCXCI, 4:221–28.
[84] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCXLVI, 5:161–64.
[85] Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 169.
[86] Jane Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Literature, and the Signs of Others* (Chicago, 2009), pp. 31–32.
[87] "Ho inteso che li dimoni incarnati hanno eletto non Cristo in terra, ma fatto nascere anticristo contra voi Cristo in terra" (Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCVI, 4:284).
[88] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCVI, 4:282–86.
[89] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCLI, 5:187–91.

> and in holy Church. I know you desire it much more than I do. Onward, most holy father—if necessary, to give our life![90]

Perhaps she had also come to suspect that it would continue long after she was gone.

Conclusion

Catherine's letters attest to the flexibility and practicality with which she engaged the popes. They reveal the extent of her involvement in the great events of her day and the convergence of her own spiritual goals and desires for Christendom with the objectives of the popes. They also reveal the limits of her influence. Gregory XI took great solace from Catherine's exhortations and was happy to employ her as an emissary of peace, but neither formulated nor altered his policy in accordance with her admonishments. Though Catherine was prominent in the complex diplomacy surrounding the War of the Eight Saints, she failed to avert war or to effect a peaceful solution once it began; when Catherine counseled peace, Gregory chose to pursue a war whose conclusion, on terms favorable to the papacy, had far more to do with the heavy hand of Robert of Geneva and the involutions of Florentine domestic politics than with anything Catherine had done. Urban VI, for his part, seems to have regarded Catherine almost as a totem, a saintly emblem of his own legitimacy, who otherwise had little impact on the course he followed. Catherine's failing health was a factor, but so was Urban's obstinacy. Despite her best efforts, Catherine was never able to soften the hard heart by which Urban had driven his cardinals into schism; nor could she convince those same cardinals to return to the pope's obedience.

Ultimately, Catherine's place in the papal politics of her time lies somewhere along the broad spectrum between the largely symbolic and the determinative. She was prominent and influential, but she neither drove events nor determined their trajectory. Catherine provided

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[90] Noffke, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, Letter T364/G21, 4:353. For the original Italian, see Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere*, ed. Misciattelli, CCCLXIV, 5:252: "Abbiate pazienzia in me: chè io non mi resterò mai di stimolarvi coll'orazione, e con la voce viva o con scrivere, mentre che io viverò; tanto che io vedrò in voi e nella santa Chiesa quello che io desidero, e che io so che molto più di me voi desiderate, a dare la vita."

Gregory with much-needed spiritual support and moral authority, but had little impact on the policies he employed to effect his return. She had less influence on Urban, not least because Urban desired her services without ever really knowing how to make effective use of them. If this was disappointing to her—as at times it clearly was—we must recall that the affairs of the papacy were but a part of the mission to which Catherine devoted herself in her brief time on earth. She was willing to die for the papal cause, but she did not live for it. She had bigger and higher aims—even if these sometimes took the form of something so seemingly minor as the foundation of a convent in a ruined fortress. Catherine genuinely loved her flawed, exasperating, and all-too-human Christs on Earth; but, when all was said and done, it was the one in Heaven that she truly lived for.

CHAPTER FOUR

LACRIME CORDIALI: CATHERINE OF SIENA ON THE VALUE OF TEARS

Heather Webb

All tears come from the heart, God explains to the ecstatic soul in Catherine of Siena's 1378 *Il Dialogo*.[1] But the various states of an individual's soul may cause the heart to send forth a great variety of tears. As it is by means of tears that a soul may pass from one state of grace to another, the *Dialogo* devotes considerable space to correlating each state of the soul with a distinct category of tears. This chapter examines Catherine's typology systematically, with a focus on the following questions: How do tears figure in Catherine's claims of authorship and authority? How can they figure union with God, prophetic capacity, and revelation? I will reference parallels in Catherine's thought with Dante's theology of tears as depicted in the *Commedia*. Finally, how can the role of tears inform the increasing body of work on, to use Catherine Mooney's term, "gendered voices" or, in this case, how does Raymond of Capua's account of Catherine's spiritual practice differ from that of Catherine herself?[2]

E.M. Cioran tells us that the Middle Ages were saturated with tears: "their rivers of tears haven't quite dried up even today, and whoever has an ear for pain can still hear their lamentations."[3] But how can we understand today exactly what those tears meant? They are not just about pain, for one thing. Along with tears of pain, medieval writers describe tears of penitence, of joy, of union with the divine. But the meaning or precise stimulus for tears is often difficult to trace.[4]

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[1] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza: ovvero Libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini, Testi Cateriniani 1, 2nd edn (Siena, 1995), chap. 89, p. 232: "Io voglio che tu sappi che ogni lagrima procede dal cuore."

[2] *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, 1999).

[3] E.M. Cioran, *Tears and Saints* (Chicago, 1995), p. 29.

[4] For a broadly cross-cultural comparative study of religious weeping, see *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, eds. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (Princeton, 2005). A broadly conceived study of crying in general,

James Elkins's recent *Pictures and Tears* speaks of tearful reactions to paintings, revealing the tremendous diversity in the ways in which those who cry describe or explain this reaction.[5] For Catherine, it is of utmost importance to do precisely this difficult work; her very sophisticated typology of tears in the *Dialogo* is dedicated to separating out variously motivated tears.

It is my intention to discuss Catherine as author and to acknowledge, at the same time, that Catherine as author defines her mechanics of authorship in the terms of speech far more often than she describes herself as a writer.[6] In both cases, tearful speech and tearful writing, weeping serves to authenticate words. In her essay "Stabat Mater," Julia Kristeva suggests that milk and tears have this in common: "they are the metaphors of nonspeech, of a 'semiotics' that linguistic communication does not account for." Milk and tears are the "privileged signs of" the *Mater Dolorosa*. Silently maternal, she listens, offering ear, tears, and breast.[7] But this is not the only iconic example of weeping present to medieval people. Another key figure is the female sinner who washed Jesus' feet with her tears and dried them with her hair, described in Luke 7:38. She "stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears." Jesus confirms the significance of her action in Luke 7:44: "Thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with tears." While they are not "linguistic," the woman's tears speak her penitence and bring her into contact with Christ. In return for her love and humble service, she obtains forgiveness. These tears communicate for her. This female sinner is one component of Mary Magdalene, the "composite saint" (to use Katherine Jansen's term) compiled by Pope Gregory the Great.[8] It seems safe to assume that this example would have informed Catherine's ideas about the importance of tears; Raymond of Capua explains that, in one of Catherine's visions, Christ gave Mary Magdalene to Catherine

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without specific focus on religion, is Tom Lutz, *Crying: A Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York, 2001).

[5] James Elkins, *Pictures and Tears: A History of People Who Have Cried in Front of Paintings* (New York, 2001).

[6] For an excellent examination of Catherine as writer and author and the debate surrounding such designations, see Jane Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Literature, and the Signs of Others* (Chicago, 2009).

[7] Julia Kristeva, *Tales of Love*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York, 1989), p. 249

[8] Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000) See particularly pp. 32–33.

as her mother. Raymond maintains that it is only right that penitent be with penitent, lover with lover, contemplative with contemplative.[9]

Tears can block speech and by their silent presence communicate more powerfully than words can. But tears can also bind themselves up with speech, thus authenticating words. When Catherine, in a letter to Raymond of Capua, describes the gift of writing that is given to her at a certain point, she links the outpouring of words onto the page to a simultaneous outflow of sighs and tears:

> This letter, and another that I sent you, I wrote with my own hand on the Isola della Rocca, with many sighs and an abundance of tears, such that the eye, seeing, did not see. But I was so full of admiration for myself, and for the goodness of God, considering his pity toward the creatures that have reason, and his Providence, which abounds toward me, such that he gave me such a comfort, since I was deprived of the consolation that I did not know because of my ignorance, and provided for this need with the aptitude for writing. In this way, when I descended from the heights, I had a little something by which to vent [*sfogare*] my heart, so that it would not burst.[10]

Catherine clearly puts this tearful writing in the same category as a number of expressions (understood literally, as things pressed out) from the heart. In the broader context of Italian 14th-century texts, tears were associated with confession and penitence, but also with secular love and the production of love poetry. Petrarch famously cemented the long-established link between romantic love and tears in the sonnet that describes his first encounter with Laura: "Love found me all disarmed and saw the way / was clear to reach my heart down

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[9] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B, at I.2.45.865A. (Hereafter cited as *Legenda maior*; see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*.)

[10] Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte con note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, ed. Piero Misciattelli, 6 vols (Florence, 1939–47), CCLXXII, 4:158–72, at p. 172. "Questa lettera, e un'altra ch'io vi mandai, ho scritte di mia mano in su l'Isola della Rocca, con molti sospiri e abondanzia di lagrime; in tanto che l'occhio, vedendo, non vedeva; ma piena d'ammirazione ero di me medesima, e della bontà di Dio, considerando la sua misericordia verso le creature che hanno in loro ragione, e la sua Providenzia; la quale abondava verso di me, che per refrigerio, essendo privata della consolazione, la quale per mia ignoranzia io non cognobbi, m'aveva dato, e proveduto con darmi l'attitudine dello scrivere; acciocchè discendendo dall'altezza, avessi un poco con chi sfogare 'l cuore, perchè non scoppiasse." All translations are my own.

through my eyes, / which have become the halls and doors of tears."[11] The eyes are conduits here, given over to the purpose of releasing tears from his besieged heart. From Cavalcanti to Dante to Petrarch, poets held that a loving heart will send forth tears, sighs, and speech (understood as poetic voice). Catherine's language of tears in the context of sacred love has much in common with these poetic conceptions of the same. In this case, she describes writing as a mode of venting an overfull heart. It should be noted however, that the poets speak of speech or voice while they also produce a written text. For both Catherine and these poets, writing and speaking are closely associated. The essential component in these descriptions of what comes forth from the body in terms of written or oral speech is the attributed source. Catherine makes it very clear that her experience of the divine has filled her heart to the point of bursting. This plenitude requires release. By the means of writing, her prophetic experience is transmitted from heart to page.

But how, exactly, do tears work? In Catherine's *Dialogo*, God explains: "You must know, then, that every tear comes from the heart."[12] Tears, as products of the heart, were thus understood to be kin to those other substances that Aristotelian natural philosophers of the Middle Ages sourced in the heart: blood, spirit, sighs, voice, and semen. Even Leonardo da Vinci, following the Aristotelian spirit of the later Middle Ages in this respect, writes: "Tears come from the heart and not from the brain."[13] Much attention has been paid to other outwardly oriented fluids and entities flowing from the heart: Christ's blood and Mary's milk as drink for ecstatic mystics; the one seed and the two seed theories of reproduction as markers of gender difference.[14]

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[11] Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. and trans. Mark Musa (Bloomington, 1999), Poem 3, ll. 9–11, pp. 4–5.

[12] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, p. 232: "Io voglio che tu sappi che ogni lagrima procede dal cuore."

[13] "Le lagrime vengono dal core e no dal ceruello" (Leonardo da Vinci, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. Jean Paul Richter [New York, 1970], p. 117, section 815, W. An. III. 230*a*).

[14] The bibliography on blood, semen, and breast milk in the contexts of religious practice and natural philosophy is vast. A recent study of blood is that of Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007). On the correlations between blood and breast milk, see Bynum's earlier *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987). On semen and theories of reproduction, see Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and*

Tears remain particularly enigmatic, and by comparison to these other products of the heart, less studied. Tears are a substance difficult to categorize. While tears have a gendered quality, they are more associated with piety than with the feminine. Catherine writes of tears as necessary for spiritual progress without targeting her remarks at a specifically gendered audience. Milk and blood nourish, tears (it would seem) do not. Catherine, however, speaks of tears as nourishing. Spirit vivifies the body, tears (it would seem) do not. But Catherine suggests that proper tears can give life.

When bound up with speech, tears can indicate, quite literally, that someone is speaking from the heart. Furthermore, tearful speech is often traced by the speaker to sources outside the individual. The heart, after all, is the single physical place in the body where the Holy Spirit can dwell.[15] Liquid imagery for describing the presence of the divine within the body often refers to blood, but can also focus on tears. Tears and speech, when they do come together, offer a kind of proof, a sort of discernment strategy. Tears authorize words and can point to a divine source. The writings of both Catherine of Siena and of Dante would certainly suggest as much.

Catherine's typology of tears focuses on moving in several stages from self-referential tears to tears that share in just such a confluence of human and divine. The first category is described as follows:

> You must know, then, that every tear comes from the heart, because there is no member in the body that has so much desire to satisfy the heart as the eye. If it has pain, the eye manifests it; and if it is a pain of the sensitive part, it can produce tears that generate death, because they come from a heart in which there is a disordered love that is outside of me.[16]

This first category of tears, satisfying the heart through the eyes, is the product of a heart in pain. Such a heart is outside God, responding only to the individual's private suffering. Despair, or the idea that

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Culture (New York, 1993). On productions of the heart in general, see Heather Webb, *The Medieval Heart* (New Haven, 2010).

[15] For a detailed discussion of the ways in which medieval thought mapped divine and demonic influence on the body, see Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003).

[16] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, p. 232. "Io voglio che tu sappi che ogni lagrima procede dal cuore, però che nullo membro è nel corpo che voglia satisfare al cuore quanto l'occhio. Se egli à dolore, l'occhio il manifesta; e se egli è sensitivo dolore, gitta lagrime cordiali che generano morte, perchè procedevano dal cuore, perchè l'amore era disordinato, fuore di me."

no mercy is forthcoming, causes the individual to retreat into her or himself. When there is no hope of response, the body is as if closed inward upon itself, generating not life, but death. This narcissistic self-indulgence is figured poetically at the bottom of Dante's *Inferno*. I would suggest, in fact, that Dante's *Commedia* draws out its own journey through various kinds of tears, a typology of its own that certainly forms part of the backdrop of notions of tears and their relation to salvation in Catherine's world.[17]

Some of the most beguiling sinners in the *Inferno* tell us that they weep as they speak.[18] Both Francesca and Ugolino reference what is clearly a commonplace cultural assumption; tears suggest the veracity of the tale being told, and the righteous suffering of the speaker. Of course, in the case of these exiles, forever trapped in immutable self-sameness, these tears are tears of eternal death. They parody repentance and transformative suffering. Or take, for instance, Fra Alberigo, encased in the ice of Cocytus. He begs the pilgrim to "remove the hard veils from my face, so that I may vent [*sfogare*] the pain with which my heart impregnates me, a little, before the tears freeze up again."[19] Note the similarity of language here with Catherine's description of gratitude for the gift of writing. The desire to "vent" the heart in this case is however presented as an impossibility, a gift that God has denied this sinner. Translated as "to vent" in both instances, *sfogare* in Italian does not suggest a movement of air in the way that our notion of venting does. In fact, in both cases, *sfogare* in the case of the heart is related to true speech or writing accompanied by the authenticating liquid release of tears. It is for this reason that such tearful speech of

[17] On the presence of Dante's writings in Catherine's immediate circle, see Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, pp. 111–16. I do not intend to argue for Catherine's direct knowledge of Dante's writings, merely to suggest what Maria Corti might call "interdiscursivity" or a common community of ideas circulating by means both oral and textual. See her "La *Commedia* di Dante e l'oltretomba islamico" in *Belfagor* 50 (1995), 301–14.

[18] It is also interesting to note that the narrating voice does not corroborate this. And in the case of Ugolino, we are given every indication that the count does not weep.

[19] Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. Giorgio Petrocchi, 4 vols (Milan, 1966–67). Translations (altered where necessary) of the *Commedia* are those of *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 1, *Inferno*, trans. by Charles S. Singleton (Princeton, 1970), Canto 33, ll. 112–14, p. 357. *La Commedia*, ed. Petrocchi, 2:575–76: "levatemi dal viso i duri veli, / sì ch'ïo sfoghi 'l duol che 'l cor m'impregna, / un poco, pria che 'l pianto si raggeli."

the heart is denied the sinners in the *Inferno* and is instead claimed at different points by both Catherine and Dante.

For Fra Alberigo, the notion of release is all a false promise; tears enact his punishment as they move from the heart but freeze as soon as they reach the eyes, locking the sinner into a crystal shell of ice from which no release is possible. His reflexive statement "my heart impregnates me," a parodic reference to the Virgin's womb in its utter openness to the divine, emphasizes the way in which this sinner is closed within himself, an exile from God's warmth, order, and love. We may thus correlate Catherine's first state of tears with this one that Dante describes, a state in which individuals are utterly divorced both from others and from the presence of the divine.

In the second category of tears in Catherine's typology, the weeper begins to at least recognize an external authority adequately to begin to fear punishment for her sins: "knowing their sins, they begin to cry for fear of punishment."[20] But relations with the external world are limited to a child-like and selfish fear here. It is only when the individual begins to hope for God's mercy that tears are of a different order, as God explains to Catherine's listening soul: "The heart feels joy. The pain of the fault is mixed with the joy of hope in my divine compassion. The eye begins to cry; this tear exits from the fountain of the heart."[21] Here, the tears are of a changed nature because the individual sending them forth has hope of a response, hope for mercy. The heart liberates its spirits, becoming a fountain, only in this hope of compassion.

In Canto 30 of Dante's *Purgatorio*, we witness a similar scenario that produces a similar kind of tear. While Beatrice's reproof occasions Dante's remorse and unburdening, the actual trigger for his tears is a certain hymn sung by a group of angels: "*In te, Domine, speravi*." These tears spring forth in hope, suggested here by the title of the hymn and by the power of palpable angelic compassion: "But when I heard how in their sweet notes they took my part, quite as if they had said, "Lady, why do you so confound him?" the ice that had tightened around my

[20] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, p. 233: "Ora comincia a vedere le lagrime che cominciano a dare vita, cioè di coloro che cognoscendo le colpe loro, per timore della pena cominciano a piagnere."

[21] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, p. 233: "Il cuore sente allegrezza, mescolato il dolore della colpa con la speranza della divina mia misericordia. L'occhio allora comincia a piangere, la quale lagrima esce della fontana del cuore."

heart (*ristretto*) became spirit and water, and with anguish came forth from my chest through my mouth and eyes."[22] Here too, compassion causes an almost explosive effect, in which the heart is opened to the hope of mercy arriving from outside and simultaneously, fountain-like, sends forth tears. In a reversal of the immutable fixation of the sinners in Cocytus, the pilgrim is unburdened as his spirits are again set in motion. As the heart and the body open adequately to exude words and tears, the heart nears a state of receptivity that will allow for the possibility of a divinely inspired, even prophetic, poetry.

Beatrice refers to these tears as the "seed of weeping." Unlike the tears of death produced in the frozen base of hell, these tears are the seed of new life. As the pilgrim is unsealed, grace flows through him in a circulation of salvation. Beatrice explains to the angels that he must pour forth tears before he can take in the nourishment of the river Lethe. Just after he weeps, he is submerged in the river and allowed to drink of it. His tears are thus exchanged with the waters of the sacred river. But tears of this kind are still far from perfect, the *Dialogo* explains: "Because the soul has not yet reached the greater perfection, it [the heart] often sends forth sensual tears. If you ask me for what reason, I will answer you: it is because of the root of self-love."[23] In Dante's case, these are indeed sensual tears, full of compassion for the self. Such tears spring forth from a heart that is still quick to feel the privation of consolation from God and from others, a heart that is still full of self love.

But it is only by means of tears, and tears even such as these, that a soul passes from one state of grace to the next. Catherine describes the individual's relationship with God, explaining how God brings souls back to grace when they have fallen away from him. He tells Catherine's listening soul why he does this: "I am forced by my inestimable charity, with which I made them, and by the prayers, desires and pains of my servants, because I cannot disdain the tears, the sweats and their

[22] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 2, *Purgatorio*, trans. Charles S. Singleton (Princeton, 1973), 30, pp. 94–99. *La Commedia*, ed. Petrocchi, 3:525: "ma poi che 'ntesi ne le dolci tempre / lor compartire a me, par che se detto / avesser: "Donna, perché sì lo stempre?" / lo gel che m'era intorno al cor ristretto, / spirito e acqua fessi, e con angoscia / de la bocca e de li occhi uscì del petto."

[23] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini, chap. 89, p. 233: "Ma perché ancora non è giunta alla grande perfezione, spesse volte gitta lagrime sensuali. Se tu mi dimandi per che modo, rispondoti: per la radice dell'amore proprio di sé."

humble prayer; I must accept these."[24] Tears, sweat, and prayers all come forth from the penitent's body and compel a divine response. Catherine links these various forms of output to desires. It is important to note, as well, that these human externalizations are related to God's creation of his servants. His creations give something back to him through the vehicle of their bodies, asking again for a renewal of his presence. This relationship is thus dialogic, entirely symmetrical to the secular love envisioned by the poets. The lady creates love in the poet, who pulls forth tears, prayers and poetry (sweat is an important motif in Catherine's writings, but for obvious reasons notably absent from the rhetoric of most secular love lyrics) but is asking for something in return, the *guiderdon* or *merci* or mercy. Each propulsion seeks a counter motion.

The heart produces tears that are better connected to God as the individual becomes better connected to the love of the divine and the love of others:

> And so the eye, that wishes to satisfy the heart, weeps into my love and that of its neighbor, with love of the heart, pained only for the offense done to me and the injury done to the neighbor, not for its own pain or individual injury.[25]

The love of the heart (*amore cordiale*) does not look within for injury, but rather looks to others. The phrase "geme nella mia carità" [weeps into my love] is notable for the suggestion that one may weep *into* God's love and *into* the love of others. The connectedness of these tears is emphasized in the very language. It is important to note the emphasis on neighbors and on community. Compassion has been transferred from the self to the neighbor. Love is focused on a community in God, rather than on the individual.

By means of this path, the individual finds sustenance. As the intellect begins to see, understand, and know the truth that is God:

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[24] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 4, p. 12: "Costretto so' di farlo dalla inestimabile carità mia, con la quale Io gli creai, e dall'orazione e desideri e dolore de' servi miei, perché non so' spregiatore della lagrima, sudori e umile orazione loro, anco gli accetto però che Io so' colui che gli fo amare e dolere del danno dell'anime."

[25] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, pp. 234–35. "Subito l'occhio, che vuole satisfare al cuore, geme nella carità mia e del prossimo suo con cordiale amore, dolendosi solo dell'offesa mia e del danno del prossimo, e non di pena né danno proprio di sé."

> The intellect pulls the affections with it, the affections that taste my eternal divinity and in this know and see the divine nature united with your humanity. And so the affections rest in me, the peaceful sea. The heart is united by the affection of love to me…in the sentiment of me, eternal God, the eye begins to pour tears of sweetness, that are a milk that directly nourishes the soul of true patience. These tears are a scented unguent that gives off a smell of great sweetness.[26]

These tears are likened to milk, to nourishment, to a divine food. The 14th-century physician, Mondino de' Liuzzi (c. 1270–1326), explains that milk is made in the breasts from well-heated and refined blood, and it is for this reason that the breasts are located near the heart, he says, so that they may profit from the heat of this area.[27] Here it is the eyes themselves that pour out a kind of milk, nourishing the soul. When the heart is connected to God, tears of milk emerge from it to nourish the soul that inhabits that same heart. This kind of circulation that turns back to nourish the self is justified through the heart's unity with God. When God is present within the heart, tears do not belong to the individual alone but are rather a product of the love between that individual and God. Just as breast milk can only be produced by a female body that has been inhabited by another being, so these tears of milk can only emerge from a heart that rests within the sea that is God and is filled with the presence of the divine:

> Oh, my most adored daughter, how glorious is that soul that has managed to truly pass from the tempestuous sea to me, the peaceful sea, and has filled the vessel of the heart in the sea that I am, highest and eternal God. Thus the eye, that is like a conduit that comes from the heart, seeks to satisfy it and thus pours out tears.[28]

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[26] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, pp. 235–36: "Tratto l'affetto dietro all'intelletto, gusta la Deità mia eterna nella quale cognosce e vede essa natura divina unita con la vostra umanità. Riposasi allora in me, mare pacifico. Il cuore è unito per affetto d'amore in me, sì come nel quarto unitivo stato ti dissi. Nel sentimento di me, Deità eterna, l'occhio comincia a versare lagrime di dolcezza che drittamente sono un latte che nutrica l'anima in vera pazienza. Queste lagrime sono uno unguento odorifero che gittano odore di grande soavità."

[27] Mondino dei Liuzzi, *Anothomia*, eds. Piero Giorgi, Albertina Cavazza, and Gian Franco Pasini, at http://cis.alma.unibo.it/Mondino/textus.html (last accessed on 19 September 2011). Section "De anothomia mammilarum."

[28] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 89, p. 236: "O dilettissima figliuola, quanto è gloriosa quella anima che così realmente à saputo trapassare dal mare tempestoso a me, mare pacifico, e empito il vasello del cuore suo nel mare di me, somma eterna Deità! E però l'occhio, che è condotto s'ingegna, come egli à tratto del cuore, di satisfargli, e così versa lagrime."

This co-inhabitation of the soul and the divine creates a heart that is full of an overflowing superabundance of the divine presence. The tears that come forth from that heart are thus a manifestation of that real presence within the body. We may see this as a figure for Catherine's own dictation of the *Dialogo*, words that are not hers alone but are a dialogue between her soul and God. She then dictates God's lessons as she hears them, pouring them forth from her full heart. The *Dialogo* is, after all, presented as God's teachings to Catherine's soul. Catherine relates that which her soul has heard and incorporated into itself.

One other variety of tear remains to be explained, in answer to Catherine's query about those who might wish to produce tears but cannot do so physically:

> It now remains to tell you, to satisfy your wish, of those who would like the perfection of tears but do not seem to be able to have it; is there another way than by means of the tears of the eye? Yes, it is a weeping of flame, that is of real and holy desire, consumed by the affection of love. She would like to dissolve her life in weeping for the hatred of herself and the salvation of souls, and it seems that she cannot. I say that these souls have tears of flame, in that the Holy Spirit weeps before me for them and for their neighbors.[29]

For the soul that has achieved a state of union with God, tears are no longer necessary for personal transition from one state to another, but rather serve for the salvation of other souls. In this case, should tears of the usual variety be lacking, the mediation of the Holy Spirit is available to transform the desire of this individual soul into active work on behalf of those in need of salvation.

The *Dialogo* links flame and tears, fire and liquid, through the complex and rather counter-intuitive metaphor of green wood set alight:

> Now I have told you how the tear proceeds from the heart: the heart offers it to the eye, having plucked it from burning desire; just as green wood in the fire weeps water for the heat, as it is green—if it was dry, it would not weep—just so the heart, fresh and green again thanks to the

[29] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 91, p. 243: "Restoti ora a dire, a satisfazione del desiderio tuo che m'ài adimandato, d'alcuni che vorrebbono la perfezione delle lagrime e non pare che la possino avere: àcci altro modo che lagrima d'occhio? Sì: ècci uno pianto di fuoco, cioè di vero e santo desiderio, il quale si consuma per affetto d'amore. Vorrebbe dissolvere la vita sua in pianto per odio di sé e salute dell'anime, e non pare che possa. Dico che costoro ànno lagrima di fuoco, in cui piagne lo Spirito santo dinanzi a me per loro e per lo prossimo loro."

> renewal of grace, having had the dryness of self-love pulled from it, that dryness that parches the soul. In this way, fire and tears are united, that is in burning desire.[30]

Just as the frozen heart in Dante's *Inferno* is both cold and dry, Catherine's vision of the heart in a state of sin is dry, parched by self-love. But whereas for Dante, renewal of grace such as happens for the pilgrim in Purgatory is a question of melting, Catherine imagines a regreening of the heart. Thus burning is not antithetical to liquid, but desire produces tears. God explains, further, that in heaven the blessed still feel desire, and pray with tears of flame.[31]

I turn here to look briefly at the ways in which Raymond of Capua characterizes Catherine's tears. At times, his statements can be read as simplifications, personalizations, and literalizations of Catherine's complex, abstract theological concepts.[32] Raymond tends to translate Catherine's statements that describe God's interaction with his faithful in general into statements about the exceptionality of Catherine's individual relationship with Christ. As we will see, he describes Catherine's own production of tears as admirable and extraordinarily voluminous. According to Raymond, God is often compelled to fulfill Catherine's wishes in response to a flood of tears. According to Catherine, as we have seen above, God is not manipulated by tears in the human terms that Raymond describes, but rather can be pulled into what we might imagine as a circulation of grace when the proper kind of tears come forth from the heart.

John Coakley points out that a key image for Raymond is that of grace overflowing—so much grace has been poured into Catherine's

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[30] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 91, p. 246. "Ora t'ò detto come la lagrima procede dal cuore: il cuore la porge all'occhio avendola ricolta dall'affocato desiderio; sì come il legno verde che sta nel fuoco, che per lo caldo geme l'acqua, perché egli è verde—che se fosse secco, già non gemerebbe. Così il cuore, rinverdito per la rinnovazione della grazia, trattone la secchezza dell'amore proprio che disecca l'anima. Sì che sono unite fuoco e lagrime, cioè desiderio affocato."

[31] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, chap. 92, p. 247. On the desires of the blessed in Dante and western culture in general, see Robert Pogue Harrison, *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition* (Chicago, 2008), chap. 13.

[32] For analyses of divergences between Catherine and Raymond's accounts of various events, and in particular analysis of Letter 371, see Karen Scott, "Mystical Death, Bodily Death: Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua on the Mystic's Encounter with God," in *Gendered Voices*, ed. Mooney, pp. 136–67; and my "Catherine of Siena's Heart" in *Speculum* 80.3 (2005), 802–17.

mens, anima, or *spiritus* that it overflows into her body.[33] He understands Raymond's treatment of Catherine's corporeal and spiritual lives as connected but as "firmly discrete" separate vessels. But another way of thinking about this might be to consider how *mens, anima*, and *spiritus* were so often located, literally, in the heart. In that case, the flow is not necessarily from a separate spiritual vessel to a distinct bodily vessel but, rather, from the physio-spiritual space of the heart into (and even out of) the body. Her constant weeping and sighing, as Raymond sees it, is the direct result of this overflow of the Holy Spirit in her heart.[34] She even annoys priests and her earlier confessor (Fra Tommaso) with her loud crying during Mass. When told to be quiet, Catherine asks God to illuminate Tommaso, who is then able to understand that such things cannot be contained internally.[35]

Here we may note Raymond's focus on Catherine's body as container and his obsessive attention to what goes into and comes out of that body. While medieval spirituality focuses on certain ways of closing the body and particularly its natural systems, on fasting and as a result limiting excretion or eliminating menstruation, there is equal emphasis on supernatural openness of the spiritual systems that have their nexus in the heart.[36] So while Raymond stresses Catherine's particular receptivity to the divine, he also gives ample space to the particular externalization of tears as overflow of this primary reception of the Holy Spirit in the heart. It is interesting to note a moment when the natural and spiritual systems collide: "She decided never to eat without weeping; thus before the meal she offered God her tears, irrigating her soul, and then took food to sustain her body."[37] The emphasis thus remains on the heart rather than the stomach. Catherine exercises her spirit before sustaining the body.

Raymond also fits Catherine's tears into the frame of purgatorial piety. As Barbara Newman, Dyan Elliott and others have discussed, this genre depicts women taking on the sufferings of others to shorten or

[33] John Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York, 2006), pp. 178–79.

[34] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.5.165–166.895A–B.

[35] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.6.185–186.900A–B.

[36] On the control of bodily systems, see the works of Caroline Walker Bynum, especially *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*; and Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*.

[37] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.5.82–83.873F–874A.

eliminate a soul's time in Purgatory.[38] Raymond speaks of Catherine's "rivers of tears, the deep sighs, the fervor of her prayers, her weeping and sobbing, her incredible sweats with which, day and night, she struggled to obtain a final salvation for everyone from her Husband."[39] Raymond also describes individual cases, such as that of Andrea di Naddino, who is saved by Catherine's rivers of tears. He describes how Catherine "beat, so to speak, the Invincible, and bent with her humble tears the All Powerful. The Lord, as if He could not resist, sent a light from on high to illuminate…that soul."[40]

While these are rather more agonistic terms, Raymond's notion of tears here is communicative. To put it in terms closer to Catherine's own: Catherine's heart is filled with God's grace; her heart pours forth tears that must then affect God himself. The circulation of grace begins in God, moves through Catherine's body and returns to God, who decides then to illuminate or save others. Raymond emphasizes the role of tears in Catherine's exceptional relationship with God, while Catherine's *Dialogo* suggests that tears can constitute community amongst human souls, suffering, sinful, and penitent, as well as union with God. Where Raymond sees a battle, Catherine describes immersions of various sorts: the heart in flames of desire, the heart filled with the sea that is God. Such immersions create a community that is not a grouping of isolated individuals, but is instead formed of selfless communion. In a rather more sophisticated fashion than Raymond's conventional narrative betrays, Catherine's typology of tears both reveals her authority as vessel and purveyor of divine knowledge and her mediatory openness to others in need of salvation.

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[38] See Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995), particularly chap. 4, "On the Threshold of the Dead, Purgatory, Hell, and Religious Women." See also Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), particularly chap. 2, "Between Two Deaths."

[39] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, Prologus Primus, 15.856D: "…fluvios lacrymarum, viscerosa suspiria, orationis instantiam, singultuosos gemitus, quibus sine intermissione die noctuque apud Sponsum suum, non absque sudoribus incredibilibus, laborabat, ut finem salutiferum singulis…"

[40] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.3.149.891A: "vicitque (ut ita dixerim) invincibilem, et omnipotentem ligavit per humilem lacrymam. Unde quasi non valens amplius resistere Dominus, luce sua emissa de supernis…illustat animam illam." See also col. 909A–D for some similar formulations of moments when Catherine is described as somehow beating the invincible with her tears.

CHAPTER FIVE

DENIAL AS ACTION—PENANCE AND ITS PLACE IN THE LIFE OF CATHERINE OF SIENA

Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner

Catherine of Siena's rigorous penance was a religious and social expression of cultural sensibilities, which mixed ancient traditions with later medieval form and gendered perceptions with broader expectations concerning lay piety. This ascetic discipline was intertwined with Catherine's equally physical ecstasies and other mystical experiences, which found their culmination in her famed reception of stigmata in 1375.

Catherine's asceticism will be examined in this chapter from two principal perspectives. The first of them places Catherine among other women mystics of her time. This approach, which looks at Catherine's ascetic and mystical experiences within the context of her gender, has produced a wealth of outstanding studies over the past three decades. The other approach—the study of Catherine's lay penance as a variant of ancient Christian ascetic tradition—has not attracted similar attention. Nonetheless, it is equally important when seeking to understand the cultural and social rationale of Catherine's penitential self-mortification. The chapter will conclude with a few remarks concerning the place of asceticism within Catherine's active life as a prophet, mystic, and reformer, for her deeds of denial receive their ultimate meaning only when set against the backdrop of her deeds of affirmation.

The Evidence

The principal source of Catherine of Siena's penitential practices is her *Life*, the massive *Legenda maior* written between 1385 and 1395 by the Dominican friar Raymond of Capua; Raymond was Catherine's confessor from 1374–78.[1] It is possible to isolate Raymond's accounts

[1] For futher discussion of the *Legenda maior*, see Silvia Nocentini's "The *Legenda maior* of Catherine of Siena" in this volume.

concerning Catherine's self-denial into three topically arranged sets. In the first section (*The Life of Catherine of Siena*, Part One, Chapters VI and VII) Raymond discussed the progressive deepening of young Catherine's penance. The focus is on Catherine's abstinence from food, which began in her childhood with the refusal to eat meat and in her youth led to avoidance of all things sweet. As Raymond recorded it, at age 15 Catherine gave up wine, which was the common table drink for young and old. Soon she deprived herself of all cooked foods; when she was 20 she refrained even from eating bread, which left her with a meager diet of water and raw vegetables. According to Raymond, Catherine also practiced other means of ascetic discipline. Her short nights of sleep were spent on uncomfortable planks. Around her waist she tightened a hair shirt and iron chains, and each day she scourged herself with strings of metal. She showed contempt for such bodily comforts as bathing. Raymond, however, paid comparatively scant attention to these latter forms of physical self-denial—his attention was directed at Catherine's ascetic understanding of food.[2]

Raymond of Capua returned to elaborate upon Catherine's denial of food in the two other interrelated sections that he dedicated to Catherine's asceticism (*The Life of Catherine of Siena*, Part Two, Chapters I and V). In these two closely linked discussions, Raymond continued his version of Catherine's ascetic progression. We learn that Catherine's abstinence from wine, meat, and cooked foods deepened further when she began her public life as an advocate of ecclesiastical and social reform during her mid-twenties. Her complete fasts became longer each year: when she was about 26, she triumphed with eating nearly nothing until her demise at age 33. The modern reader probably has his or her doubts about the feat and its virtue, which was, as Raymond frequently pointed out, the very reaction of many of Catherine's contemporaries. Raymond, however, linked his portrayals of Catherine's fasting with her frequent Communions, which began at the same time as her cycles of complete abstinence deepened. He even argued that Communion changed Catherine's constitution so that it

[2] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Conleth Kearns, 2nd edn (Washington, D.C., 1994), Part 1: VI and VII, pp. 54–69. For the English-speaking reader's benefit, I shall refer to English translations when such are available. However, the reader is encouraged to consult the original Latin edition when possible; see Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*. Acta Sanctorum. III Aprilis, Dies 30. Antwerp, 1675, cols 853A–959B. (Hereafter *Legenda maior*.)

became impossible for her to assimilate nutrition: "Indeed, the taking of food became to her not merely unnecessary, but actually impossible, except to the accompaniment of great bodily suffering."[3]

In Part One of the *Legenda maior*, fasting and other forms of self-mortification come forth as young Catherine's preparation for a saintly future. In Part Two, Catherine's fasts support her public life of prophecy and appear within the context of a broader sacramental theology, to which we shall return below. It remains to be said that Raymond briefly returned to review Catherine's fasts in Part Three of the *Legenda maior*.[4] In this summary, his attention was on yet another theological point, namely, the virtue of patience. The endurance of rigorous fasts, Raymond argued, could be compared to Catherine's endurance of social insults, bodily illnesses and other trials. As Raymond summarized it, the practices of bodily denial exercised the practice of inner patience.[5]

Raymond of Capua functioned as one of Catherine of Siena's confessors during her most active years of public involvement (1374–78). Some of his accounts in the *Legenda maior* were based on his personal encounters with Catherine, but many more were based on the testimonies learned from Catherine's mother, her female companions and her several confessors. Raymond spun this wide range of testimonies into a theologically elaborate portrayal of a saint who was not only acceptable for canonization but also fit to be elevated among the supreme saints of her time.[6] It is not surprising that Raymond's extensive and influential account has dominated the discussion concerning Catherine's asceticism. It will also prevail in this present chapter. Yet, the testimony of other surviving contemporary sources offers a valuable opportunity to test and complement Raymond's account. The earliest surviving life of Catherine of Siena, the so-called *Miracoli*, as well as

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[3] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.118–124.882E–884C; II.5.165–177.894E–898B. For the cited section, see II.5.166–167.895B/C. For the English, see Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 2: I and V, pp. 113–19 and 158–172. For the cited section see, Part 2: V, p. 161. See Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*.

[4] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.8.399–400.952D/F.

[5] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.8.399–400.952D/F. Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 3: VI, sections 400 and 401, pp. 365–67.

[6] The length and elaborate details of the *Legenda maior* makes it one of the longest lives of medieval saints, comparable to the massive life that Franciscan theologian and Minister General Bonaventure (c. 1217–74) wrote of Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226).

Catherine's own writings, her letters, and her mystical account, known as the *Dialogo*, provide a particularly helpful point of reference.[7]

The *Miracoli* is a short and rather unpolished vernacular account that was written during the summer and autumn of 1374. It offers a fresh angle to Catherine as an emerging prophet who had established her fame locally but was not yet the renowned political and ecclesiastical reformer she was to become. The *Miracoli*'s message concerning Catherine's fasts and other penitential practices is aligned with Raymond's later testimony: Catherine was ferocious in her ascetic denials, particularly in her refusal to enjoy the pleasures of the table (*The* Miracoli *of Catherine of Siena*, Chapters 6 and 8). Through the *Miracoli*, we receive an image of a young girl whose ascetic practices started at an early age and who, during her teens, lived for seven years in ascetic solitude in her parents' home. In Raymond's *Legenda maior*, this period of complete seclusion lasted only three years, but otherwise the two *Lives* share the perspective that Catherine's ascetic eating prepared the path to her public life. Both texts also draw a picture of saintly self-denial, in which natural food was virtually replaced by the saving repast of the Eucharist.

Raymond's version of Catherine's asceticism emphasized her struggles with her worried mother, Lapa, but the *Miracoli* placed a greater attention on Catherine's shared life with other penitent women. In the *Miracoli*, when God commanded Catherine to leave behind her solitary life, he urged her to join the table of other Dominican laywomen. Her table fellowship with them was, however, not a companionship of shared food: while the others ate, Catherine preached to them about paradise and saints. The morsels of bread and herbs, which she agreed to chew, later ended in the bucket that she had placed by her feet.[8]

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[7] The sources concerning Catherine include also a supplement to Raymond's *Legenda maior,* known as the *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), which was authored by the chief architect of Catherine's cult, Caffarini (c. 1350–1430). He also collected the testimonies for Catherine's canonization, known as *Il Processo Castellano*: *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942). The question of Catherine's asceticism emerged also in these sources, but it is not discussed systematically or at length as it was in the *Legenda maior*. For sources concerning Catherine, see the listing in the Appendix of *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner (New York, 2005), pp. 246–48.

[8] *The* Miracoli *of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, in *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, chaps. 6 and 8, pp. 92–94.

Catherine's own writings depart from the ascetic overtones of the *Legenda maior* and the *Miracoli.* In her *Dialogue* or *Il Dialogo della divina provvidenza* of about 1378, self-mortification is a central topic, but its implications are mental rather than physical. The *Dialogo* does not contain recommendations to ascetic practices, but urges renewal through spiritual overcoming of one's love for oneself (It. *amore di se*). Catherine argues that love of God (It. *amore di Dio*) is hindered if one does not let go of one's own self. Such denial of one's own will was not a bodily trial but, rather, a mental exercise in patience, obedience, and charity. In fact, Catherine warned against intemperate ascetic practices, which could become distorted ends in themselves and further alienate a person from God.[9]

Temperance in ascetic discipline is the key also in Catherine's letters. Of the nearly 400 letters that have survived of Catherine's correspondence, the ones directed to other laypeople and especially to penitent women are of particular interest to us. In them, Catherine gives advice concerning pious life in the secular world. It is characteristic of Catherine to call the Christians to abandon their lukewarm piety in exchange for burning zeal for God. Yet, her letters convey an understanding of spiritual fervor that did not require the extremes for which she herself was famous. Catherine's letters to another Dominican penitent, Daniella of Orvieto, offer a particularly illuminating view of Catherine's understanding of penitential life. She advised Daniella in codes of restraint, which she perceived as helpful in religious life in the world—downcast eyes, silence, avoidance of distracting company—but she strongly cautioned against extremes of penance. She underlined that the aim of penance was not to kill the body, but the self-centeredness of an individual.[10]

The discrepancy between hagiographic evidence concerning Catherine's way of life and her own advice on Christian living is obvious. Karen Scott has suggested one plausible explanation to the gap by

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[9] Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, trans. Suzanne Noffke, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1980), especially chs. 11, 99, and 131, pp. 42–45, 186, 262–63. For the original Italian, see *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza: ovvero Libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini, 2nd edn (Siena, 1995).

[10] Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, 4 vols (Tempe, 2000–08), Letter T213/G163, 3:295–304. For the original Italian, see Letter CCXIII in Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte con note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, ed. Piero Misciattelli, 6 vols (Florence, 1939–47), CCXII, 3:227–38.

arguing that Raymond of Capua's descriptions of Catherine's strenuous physical practices revealed gendered expectations concerning women's piety: the hagiographer drew attention to bodily extremes of his woman protagonist, whereas the saint herself offered more ordinary advice.[11] The differences between the modes of writing offer another explanation. The lives of saints, even those describing the feats of men, were patterned around literary conventions or *topoi*, which typically included strenuous ascetic feats. The lives of saints pushed toward extremes in their effort to promote a person who was to be imitated (Lat. *ad imitanda*) but who also went beyond what was perceived as humanly possible and was thus to be venerated as God's chosen one (Lat. *ad admiranda*).[12] On the contrary, the genre of spiritual exhortation, represented in Catherine's letters and her *Dialogue*, was often moderate by its nature.

Gendered Expectations

The study of medieval sanctity and mysticism is one of the fields of scholarship in which gender studies has triumphed since the 1980s. Gender studies has left its mark also on the current understanding of Catherine of Siena's asceticism. If one were to name the book that has most influenced the present study of later medieval women's ascetic mysticism, it would probably be Caroline Walker Bynum's *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, published in 1987.[13] Bynum shared the view of such scholars as Elizabeth Petroff, Donald Weinstein, Rudolph Bell, Michael Goodich, and Richard Kieckhefer, who observed that later medieval women's mysticism was essentially holistic and was expressed through ascetic discipline and physical experiences of God's

[11] On the ordinary, rather than mystical, aspect of Catherine's correspondence, see Karen Scott, "Io Caterina." Ecclesiastical Politics and Oral Culture in the Letters of Catherine of Siena," in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, eds. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 87–121. See also eadem, "Catherine of Siena, *Apostola*," *Church History* 61.1 (1992), 34–46.

[12] A wealth of outstanding books on medieval hagiographic writing and its objectives has been lately produced. For two volumes that look at medieval hagiographic writing concerning women and include a discussion on Catherine, see *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, 1999); and John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

[13] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987).

presence.[14] Rudolph Bell argued in his *Holy Anorexia* (1985) that the food asceticism of Catherine of Siena and some other women mystics was akin to modern eating disorders, but Bynum phrased the question of food in broader terms by showing that women's religious refusal of food was adjoined by visions, eucharistic practices, and food miracles which affirmed the positive value of both food and the physical reality that it represented.[15]

It would be, in fact, difficult to unlock Catherine of Siena's asceticism if one did not place her within the context of other pious later medieval women. She was in the populous company of beguines of the Low Countries, penitents of Italy, *beatae* of Spain, and other religiously oriented laywomen. Among these *mulieres sanctae* or *devotae* were proto-beguines Marie d'Oignies (c. 1177–1213) and Christina "Mirabilis" of Sint-Truiden (c. 1150–1224), the Franciscan laywoman of noble origin, Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31), as well as many Italian penitent women, such as the Franciscan Margaret of Cortona (c. 1247–97) and the Dominican Giovanna of Orvieto (c. 1264–1306). These women's experiences attracted the attention of hagiographers who patterned their women protagonists' lives around their bodily expressions of piety. This holistic understanding of religious experience was principally associated with women; the German chaplain Friedrich Sunder (1254–1328) and Dominican friar Heinrich Suso (1295/1300–66) were among the few men whose reputation rested on their physically expressed piety.[16]

Ascetic denial and the adjoining mystical experiences granted Catherine of Siena and other religious laywomen a voice and unofficial position of charismatic authority. Raymond of Capua highlighted the

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[14] Among the first studies concerning later medieval women's physical expressions of piety were Elizabeth Petroff, trans., *Consolation of the Blessed* (New York, 1979); Michael Goodich, "Contours of Medieval Piety in Later Medieval Hagiography," *Church History* 59 (1981), 20–31; Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom* (Chicago, 1982); and Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago, 1985).

[15] For sections on Catherine's fasts, see Bell, *Holy Anorexia*, pp. 22–53 and Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, especially pp. 165–80.

[16] For an overview of later medieval religious laywomen's piety, see Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God.* Vol. III: *The Flowering of Mysticism. Men and Women in the New Mysticism—1200–1350* (New York, 1998), especially pp. 113–265. For Friedrich Sunder and Heinrich Suso within the context of experiential mysticism, see Meri Heinonen, "Brides and Knights of Christ. Gender and Body in Later Medieval German Mysticism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Turku, Finland, 2007).

bond between Catherine's physical piety and public life by positioning his thematic discussions concerning Catherine's ascetic discipline within the context of the deepening of her calling. In Book I of the *Legenda maior*, Catherine's fasts and other penitential actions were placed within the framework of Catherine's entrance to the Dominican lay life; in Book II, the same discussion emerged in conjunction with the beginning of Catherine's *vita activa* or active life of neighborly service and public prophecies.[17]

The focus on women's bodily mysticism was certainly gendered, but the religious and cultural concerns associated with such emphasis were not limited to women. It is necessary to take into account two later medieval phenomena in particular when reflecting on the asceticism of Catherine and her contemporary *mulieres sanctae*, and both of them were expressions of broader cultural shifts that pertained to men and women alike. These two interlinked phenomena were Christ-centered spirituality and eucharistically oriented liturgical theology, both of which emerged as cultural trends toward the end of the 12th century. The new emphasis on Christological understanding of faith resonated in behavioral ideals, such as the imitation of the passion of Christ (Lat. *imitatio passionis Christi*), and in the sacramental practice of regular Communion, which became the rule with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 issuance that all Christians were to attend Communion at least once a year.[18]

The *imitatio Christi* shaped the lives of men and women. The Eucharist inspired artists, preachers, and theologians as it did women. Yet, the emulation of Christ's passion through ascetic bodily mysticism and ecstatic commemoration of the Eucharist became the marked specialization of religious laywomen. The question to be asked is, "Why did the widely shared later medieval cultural ideal of Christ-centered piety produce a gendered outcome with asceticism and bodily mysticism?"

As Barbara Newman, Amy Hollywood, and a number of other scholars have noted, the somatic overtones of women's piety rested on physical understanding of womanhood: women's religious experiences

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[17] For the sections that follow the discussion concerning Catherine's asceticism, see Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.4.69–71.870A–872D (Catherine's reception of the Dominican habit) and II.1–17.124–329.884C–936C (Catherine's public life). For the English, see Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 1: VII and VIII and Part 2: II–XII.

[18] For Christological piety of the later Middle Ages and its implications for mysticism, see McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, especially pp. 31–69.

were seen as bodily, for they themselves were theologically perceived through their bodies. In *vitae* women's asceticism became the redemptive mirror image of their supposed physically oriented constitution; asceticism spiritualized the physical foundation of their existence. The attention was still on the body, but its semantics were transformed from corporal to spiritual.[19] Such was the aim of Raymond of Capua when he praised Catherine's ethereal diet: "As long as the spirit is nourished with its proper food the body can with ease endure a fast."[20] Raymond was not concerned that his accounts of Catherine's fasts reached surreal heights. On the contrary, he argued, natural improbability was the very point that proved God's intervention: "It was he [God] who endowed her with a miraculous stamina which nature never gave her, filling not only her soul but her body also with power from above."[21]

Later medieval women's asceticism, their eucharistic devotion, and public manifestations of piety complemented and fleshed out clerical teachings concerning Christian life. The hagiographers' interest in Catherine and other women's experiential piety made manifest the dialectical nature of medieval theological rhetoric: the writers strove to teach through stories or *exempla* and looked for living saints whose way of life donned popular appeal to theoretical arguments. Learned discussions concerning the Eucharist or the relationship between body and soul would have interested only the educated few, but miraculous narratives that transformed women, the presumably weaker sex, into vessels of grace opened up to an argument that was inclusive to all types of audiences. In the Dominican environment, women's positions as imitators of Christ reached a uniquely elevated status, for their hagiographers perceived stigmata as a specifically female religious experience. Therefore, Catherine and other Dominican laywomen's ascetic practices and their eucharistic devotion prepared a way to assimilation with the crucified Christ, whereas in the

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[19] Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995); and Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (Chicago, 2001).

[20] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.60.868A: "Plenitudo spiritus redundat in corpus: dumque ille pascitur, istud facilius sustinet inediæ cruciatus." Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 1: VI, section 60, p. 56.

[21] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.5.171.896C: "Et quod natura non poterat, ipse miraculose supplebat; vegetabatque non modo animam, sed et corpus." Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 2: V, section 171, p. 165.

neighboring Franciscan tradition, stigmata was reserved for Francis of Assisi (1181/82–1226) alone.[22]

Dyan Elliott has examined the medieval (male) theologian's confrontational and even misogynous attitudes toward women mystics, whereas John Coakley has argued that saintly women and their clerical supporters entered a rapport of genuine spiritual friendship.[23] It is possible to reason that Raymond's depiction of the extremes of Catherine's asceticism bore a mark of misogyny, so strongly did he root Catherine's saintly identity in her body and its suffering. However, we are to remember that the *Legenda maior* did not stop at Catherine's harsh bodily renunciations but aimed to show her as an agent of political and religious change. Raymond represented Catherine as a charismatic woman who was capable of entering a transforming dialogue with her audiences.[24]

Asceticism or Penance?

The terms *asceticism* (Gr. *askesis*) and *penance* (Lat. *poenitentia*) may be used interchangeably when referring to disciplined physical and mental practices of self-mortification, which were performed for the sake of perceived religious and moral good.[25] The members of Dominican and other mendicant orders perceived themselves as emulators of the ascetic hermits of the Syrian and Egyptian deserts; they praised the individual discipline and wandering spirit (Lat. *peregrinatio*) of the first Christian contestants or spiritual athletes (Gr. *athletes*). For mendicants, the deserts of temptation were not the barren lands of Near East but the buzzing urban centers of later medieval Europe.[26] Accord-

[22] On the special features of the *imitatio Christi* among the Dominican laywomen, see *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 16–19.

[23] Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitorial Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004); Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*.

[24] Though Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* presented a detailed depiction of her asceticism, most of the book was dedicated to her public actions, teaching, and miracles.

[25] A good overview of asceticism in different ages and traditions is *Asceticism*, eds. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (Oxford, 1998). For ancient ascetic tradition and its place within medieval religiosity, see Lutz Kaelber, *Schools of Asceticism: Ideology and Organization in Medieval Religious Communities* (University Park, 1998).

[26] The eremitical spirit of itinerant life and ascetic discipline was often contrasted with the more temperate and collective ideals of monastic stability (Lat. *stabilitas*). On

ing to Raymond, Catherine too participated in the ancient tradition of Christian asceticism and even surpassed it, for hers was a solitary struggle amid a hostile domestic environment:

> She was not in any monastery or hermitage, but at home in her father's house; she had not the help of the word or example of anyone on earth, but rather was impeded at every turn by those of her own household; and yet she reached, in this matter of abstinence from food, a height of perfection which none of those mentioned [biblical saints and first hermits] could attain to do.[27]

It is acceptable to use the concepts of both asceticism and penance when addressing Catherine of Siena's way of life, which is what has been done also in this chapter. Yet, the ancient concept of asceticism and its kindred notion, penitence, may also be seen as bearing slightly different connotations. The particular concerns of Catherine and other later medieval laywomen come forth when one examines the subtle nuances between the two concepts. As a laywoman, Catherine's deeds of self-denial came with a specific expectation of penance, which as a concept was narrower than asceticism and particularly associated with the laity. After all, it was not uncommon for preachers to focus on repentance and fear of God in their direction of laity; only the exceptional few dreamed of progressing from ascetic purification (Lat. *purgatio*) to unifying love of God (Lat. *unio*). Catherine of Siena did: her asceticism was preparation for spiritual progress and intimacy with God.[28] But as a laywoman, her way of life was still expressed through

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the eremitical inspiration of the Dominicans, see Alain Boureau, "Vitae fratrum, vitae patrum. L'ordre Dominicain et le modèle des pères du desert au XIIIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 99.1 (1987), 79–100.

[27] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.64.868F: "Et hoc semper in desertis, vel in monasteriis, peroptime regulatis et ordinatis: hanc autem veram filiam Abrahæ cernis, lector, non in monasterio nec in deserto, sed in domo propria paterna, absque cujuspiam hominis viatoris exemplo sive auxilio, et cum multorum domesticorum impedimento, illum attigisse perfectionis gradum in abstinentia, quem nullus illorum attingere potuit." Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 1: VI, section 64, p. 59.

[28] Antonio Volpato has insightfully commented that Catherine's focus on loving and honoring God was not the standard of the medieval laity's who rather were raised to fear God, see Volpato "L'onore di Dio e la salute delle anime di S. Caterina," in *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano Bernardiniano, Siena, 17–20 aprile 1980*, eds. Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi (Siena, 1982), pp. 301–08.

the narrower idea of repentance: her religious status was to be a sister of penance (Lat. *soror de poenitentia*).[29]

The economic history of Western asceticism comes with decisively elite overtones: Anthony of Egypt (c. 251–356), Gregory of Nyssa (c. 332–95), and many subsequent vocal champions of ascetic life came from the highest rungs of their societies. Their denial was an effort to temper the vices of idleness—ruthless exploitation of the poor, sexual pastimes, gluttonous feasting—that were available to the ruling social classes during late antiquity and the Middle Ages.[30] The social backgrounds of Catherine of Siena and other later medieval penitents were different. They commonly represented the urban middle class: some of them were servants, many came from affluent merchant and artisan families, a few were of urban noble families. They often had little to give up, and to many unmarried life or widowhood brought familiarity with actual poverty.[31]

If the asceticism of Anthony of Egypt was a proud choice of a man free to shape his own destiny, the penance of Catherine of Siena and many of her companions occurred under circumstances of dependence on their families and wealthier fellow religious. Later medieval religious laywomen's refusal of food and comfort was a rejection of goods that were not entirely theirs to renounce. It appears that Catherine did not need to fear the burden of actual hunger or desolation, but in the case of pious servants, such as Dominican laywomen Giovanna of Orvieto and Stefana Quinzani (1457–1530), one wonders whether the rejection of food and comforts was a religious idealization of a desolate condition.[32] In any case, the penitential actions of religious laywomen were an effort to renounce their yokes of dependency, whereas the same action of their ascetic forerunners of high social birth, such as Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), reads quite differently, they exchanged their freedom of wealth into the dependency of poverty.

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[29] On medieval laity's ecclesiastical status and overview to their religious culture, see André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993).

[30] On the significance of high social birth for perception of sanctity and asceticism, see Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society* and André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 249–84.

[31] The social backgrounds of Dominican penitents, see *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 8–13.

[32] For Giovanna of Orvieto's *vita*, see *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 59–86. For Stefana, see ibid., pp. 192–97.

Asceticism and penance contributed toward the spiritual growth of an individual, but their theology also had many social implications. A freely chosen suffering was ideally a choice for compassion toward the suffering of the ill and the needy. In the decades following the Black Death (1347–51), Catherine's hometown Siena and other later medieval urban centers contained ample scenes of illness and desolate poverty. Charitable institutions were few and ineffective; many put their faith in the kindness of individuals and the miracles of the saints. The ideal of compassion was present also in Raymond of Capua's discussion concerning Catherine's penitential practices. He related that Catherine flagellated herself three times a day for the sake of her soul and the souls of the others: "The first time was on her own behalf, the second for the living, and the third for the dead."[33] The *Legenda maior* also related stories concerning Catherine's physical service among her needy neighbors: the saint, who refused herself food and comforts, was attentive to the hunger, poverty, and pain of the others.[34] In Catherine's own *Dialogo*, acceptance of suffering gave birth to genuine neighborly love:

> I [God] showed you [Catherine] earlier how suffering alone, without desire, cannot atone for sin. Just so, the soul in love with my truth never ceases doing service for all the world, universally and in particular, in proportion to her own burning desire and to the disposition of those who receive.[35]

Conclusion

Catherine of Siena was a saint who was known equally for her contemplative mystical life (Lat. *vita contemplativa*) and her life of active

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[33] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.63.868D: "Primam pro se, secundam pro vivis, tertiam pro defunctis." Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 1: VI, section 63, p. 58

[34] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.124–163.884C–894D. For the English, see Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, Part 2: II–IV.

[35] English translation from Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, ed. Noffke, ch. 7, p. 37. For orignal see, *Il Dialogo della divina Provviddenza ovvero Libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Cavallini: "Non si ristà mai, l'anima inamorata della mia verità, di fare utilità a tutto il mondo, in comune e in particulare, poco e assai, secondo la disposizione di colui che riceve, e dell'ardente desiderio di colui che dà, sì come di sopra fu manifestato, quando ti dichiarai che pura la pena, senza il desiderio, non era sufficiente a punire la colpa." For neighborly service as a spiritual concern among the Dominican penitents, see Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints: Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200–1500* (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 102–10.

social involvement (Lat. *vita activa*). Her asceticism created a foundation for both. Catherine's denial of herself paved the way to her visions and ecstasies, but it also served as the backdrop for her neighborly service, public prophecies, and politics of reform. If her extreme fasts, nightly vigils, and daily discipline of scourging were to be separated from the whole, we would be left with behavior that strikes modern readers as merely curious or disgusting. However, Catherine's penance was just one feature of her medieval *vitae* and of her own writing. It fascinated her contemporaries, but so did her audacious involvement in local and global politics, as Thomas Luongo has shown in *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena*.[36] It is probable that without her ascetic fame, Catherine would never have emerged to be the influence she was, but her penance alone would not have secured her a position as one of the most noted saints within Western Christianity.

[36] F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

CHAPTER SIX

CATHERINE OF SIENA, PREACHING, AND HAGIOGRAPHY IN RENAISSANCE TUSCANY

Beverly Mayne Kienzle*

"This holy virgin has no need of my sermons, for she herself preaches and proclaims herself sufficiently." Catherine of Siena's biographer, Raymond of Capua, reported that a Master of Sacred Theology uttered these words when he could not make himself heard over the crowds who jammed the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva to see the holy woman's body during the three days after her death in 1380.[1] Raymond's emphatic choice of words, literally: she herself preaches herself sufficiently (*ipsa seipsam sufficienter praedicat*) provides the point of departure for an analysis of the biographer's language when he describes the authority of Catherine's speech during her lifetime. In this case he chooses the verb, *praedico* [preach], which is generally reserved for the preaching of authorized male clergy, to describe

* I dedicate this chapter to Christopher A. Jarvinen, whose generosity made possible my trip to Siena and Catherinian sites. I am grateful to Carolyn Muessig, Annalese Duprey-Henry, and Jenny Bledsoe for their careful reading and suggestions.

[1] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Conleth Kearns (Wilmington, Del., 1980), 3.5.380, p. 351. I have provided my own translation here and in the other passages as indicated below. Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III, Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), III.5.380.948E (hereafter *Legenda maior*; see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*): "Tantaque populi congregatio dictis diebus tribus perseveravit in eadem ecclesia, quod cum quidam Magister in sacra Theologia vellet illi populo de laudibus ipsius virginis prædicare, ac ista de causa ascendisset ambonem; nullo modo potuit populi sedare tumultum, nec per consequens audientiam obtinere: propter quod, audientibus multis, hoc verbum dixit: Hæc sancta virgo non indiget prædicationibus nostris: ipsa enim seipsam sufficienter prædicat et declarat. Et hoc dicto descendit, imperfecto, imo nec inchoato sermone: miracula vero crescebant et augmentabantur." The "Master of Sacred Theology" is identified as Giovanni Tantucci in Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), p. 386, footnote 129. Tantucci's words are given in *Libellus de supplemento*, 3.6.4, p. 386: "Ecce quia predicare de hac virgine non valeo, sed non est curandum quia ipsa de se sufficientissime predicat."

Catherine's commanding spiritual authority after her death. But how does he deal with the speech of the living holy woman?

Scholars have explored Raymond of Capua's accounts of Catherine's public ministry and signaled how Catherine's own voice and emphasis in her writings differ from Raymond's narrative in the *Legenda*. Catherine's perspective differs from Raymond's on crucial points: the voiced awareness of the limitations of her gender, the description of her ascetic practices, and furthermore, the account of her mystical experiences of death and the exchange of hearts with Christ.[2] Raymond carefully balances action and contemplation in the *Legenda*, seeking to conform Catherine's life to the Dominican model.[3] Furthermore, Raymond tones down the political implications of Catherine's actions and words, although they belong to the rich context of her family connections and Sienese politics.[4] Yet, more can be said about Raymond's shaping of the account of Catherine's life and, notably, about how he controls the language of preaching.

In the concluding chapter of the *Legenda maior*, when Raymond advocates Catherine's canonization, he makes explicit the purpose that has been evident throughout the text and that drives his ordered reconstruction of the events of her life:

> I have said these things for only one reason: that when all the things above were written, they were either dictated or written by me so that the sanctity of this virgin may become known to the holy Catholic Church and its authorities.[5]

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[2] Karen Scott, "Mystical Death, Bodily Death. Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua on the Mystic's Encounter with God," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 136–67. Karen Scott, "Urban Spaces, Women's Networks, and the Lay Apostolate in the Siena of Catherine Benincasa," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 105–19. I am indebted to Karen Scott's fine research on Catherine's speech in Karen Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds. The Role of Speech in Catherine of Siena's Understanding of Her Mission" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989), p. 176. Scott also points out confrontations where Catherine protests her calling ("Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," pp. 161–81).

[3] John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power. Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York, 2006), pp. 170–92.

[4] F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

[5] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.5.397, p. 363. Note the different chapter number in Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.6.396.951E: "Hæc pro tanto dixerim: quia cum omnia quæ superius scripta sunt, sint per me dictata et scripta, ut

What I propose in this chapter is a close reading of strategic passages in the *Legenda* in order to investigate how the aim of canonization shapes Raymond's account of Catherine's utterances, and how medieval attitudes on preaching underlie his thinking and word choice. What I add to existing scholarship is a perspective that comes from work on sermons, preaching, and the hagiography of other medieval holy women. I treat the *Legenda maior* as the work of Raymond of Capua, recognizing that the critical edition in preparation by Silvia Nocentini may reveal layers of the text which involve the passages I cite.[6]

A brief discussion of medieval preaching will ground my analysis of the *Legenda*. Raymond of Capua's report on the usage of the verb *praedicare* by the friar in Santa Maria sopra Minerva actually provides a very broad definition of preaching: the performance of a religious discourse through word or example before an audience. This concept has long-standing precedent in the *artes praedicandi*, guides to preaching which set forth norms for composing and delivering sermons and which emphasize moral performance: the requirement for a preacher was to mirror in act what he said in word.[7] A working definition of the medieval sermon genre reads as follows: "an oral discourse spoken in the voice of preacher who addresses an audience to instruct and exhort them on a topic concerned with faith and morals and based on a sacred text."[8] Moreover, the sermon's success at instructing and exhorting is measured by its impact on the audience: conversion of heart with accompanying signs such as weeping, sighing, and the like. The act of preaching presumes that the preacher conveys the word of

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sanctitas hujus virginis innotescat Ecclesiæ sanctæ catholicæ ac Rectoribus ejus." My translation.

[6] See the chapter by Silvia Nocentini in this volume.

[7] On the sermon genre, see Beverly M. Kienzle, "Introduction," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly M. Kienzle, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 143–74. On the importance of the efficaciousness of preaching, see Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and Their Performance. Theory and Record," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig, New History of the Sermon 3 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 89–124, at 94–103. See also, in the same volume, Phyllis B. Roberts, "The *Ars Praedicandi* and The Medieval Sermon," pp. 41–62; and see Claire M. Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching, Performance, and Gender in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 73–95. For a discussion of efficaciousness in a foundational Dominican *ars praedicandi*, see Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, VI. 28 (*De fructibus praedicationis optimis*), in *B. Humberti de Romanis Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Bertier, 2 vols (Rome, 1888–89), 2:373–484, at pp. 444–45.

[8] Kienzle, *The Sermon*, p. 151.

God, and women's bodies were not considered acceptable vessels for carrying the word to audiences.[9]

Medieval authors, and modern writers still, describe the act of preaching or the discourse itself with standard words such as *preaching, sermon*, or *homily*, as well as other terms that emphasize a mode of speech, such as *instruction* or *exhortation*. The vocabulary often serves as a semantic fence to delimit the speech of certain persons. An authorized man may exhort, prophesy, instruct, and preach at the same time; an unauthorized man may or may not exhort, prophesy, or teach depending on the circumstances; a woman may teach or prophesy under still more limited circumstances. The language for preaching thus seeks to establish the limits of authority, as in declaring that only certain people should preach or that only certain discourses are sermons. At the same time, the terminology may place the event and its performer outside the bounds of authority, as in claiming that dissident groups usurped the office of preaching.[10]

Biographers of holy women generally stayed within semantic bounds, whether their subjects did or not.[11] Hildegard of Bingen and her biographer relate her preaching activities in neutral terms. Theodoric, the third of the *magistra*'s biographers, cites the places where Hildegard "announced" to the clergy and people "the things which God wanted" and where she "proclaimed things which pertained to the good of souls as God had revealed to her."[12] The seer herself declared that she "was ordered to deliver" her words aloud in Disibodenberg.[13] Further,

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[9] See Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures*, pp. 96–101.

[10] Kienzle, *The Sermon*, p. 151. On women preaching in history of Christianity, see *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley, 1998).

[11] See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Sermons and Preaching," in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York, 2006), pp. 736–40.

[12] Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach, *The Life of the Saintly Hildegard by Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach*, trans. with notes by Hugh Feiss (Toronto, 1996), p. 79; Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach, *Vita Sancta Hildegardis*, ed. Monica Klaes, CCCM 126 (Turnhout, 1993), 3.17, pp. 54–55. See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries*, Medieval Women Texts and Contexts 12 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 43–61.

[13] Hildegard of Bingen, *Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium*. Pars 1: I–XC, ed. L. Van Acker, CCCM 91 (Turnhout, 1991), *Ep.* 77, 77R, p. 174, ll. 226–27: "ut ea (= uerba) in loco uestro uiua uoce proferrem iussa sum"; *Vita Sancta Hildegardis*, ed. Klaes, 2.10, ll. 1–4: p. 34: "Cumque in his doloribus adhuc laborarem, in uera uisione admonita sum ut ad locum in quo oblata Deo eram irem et uerba que Deus michi ostenderet proferrem; quod feci ac in eodem dolore ad filias meas redii."

she reports that she "journeyed to the locations of other congregations and there explained the words which God has ordered";[14] and that she went to "communities of spiritual men and women" in order to "openly declare to them what God had shown me."[15] Guibert of Gembloux has an anonymous voice declare that Hildegard was freed from the apostle's restriction on women's teaching, much as Raymond of Capua has another friar declare that Catherine preached herself.[16] The hagiographer of Umiliana dei Cerchi (1219–46), a Florentine lay woman, took care to avoid any notion of the holy woman preaching. Vito of Cortona asked his readers: "What about preaching?" and then asserted: "She preached more by deed than by word, and once dead, with her body she does not cease to preach and she will preach forever."[17] Like Raymond of Capua, but more than a century earlier, Vito of Cortona asserted that Umiliana "preached" after her death. As Vito was praising Umiliana as a model lay penitent, he aimed to close the door on any speculation that Umiliana might have preached publicly.[18] After death, however, a woman's body apparently became an acceptable vessel for disseminating the word.[19]

Raymond of Capua was certainly aware of the theory of preaching and equally cognizant of the limitations on women's speech. It is not without significance that he has another friar proclaim that

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[14] Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach, *Life of the Saintly Hildegard*, trans. Feiss, p. 57; *Vita Sancta Hildegardis*, ed. Klaes, 2.10, ll. 4–5, p. 34: "Ad alia quoque loca congregationum iter arripui ac uerba que Deus iussit ibi explanaui."

[15] *Life of the Saintly Hildegard*, trans. Feiss, 3.23, p. 92; *Vita Sancta Hildegardis*, ed. Klaes, 3.23, ll.20–23, p. 66: "Inter hec in uera uisione michi ostensum fuit, quod quasdam congregationes spiritualium hominum, uirorum ac mulierum, inuiserem eiusque uerba que Deus michi ostenderet aperte manifestarem."

[16] Guibert of Gembloux, *Guiberti Gemblacensis Epistolae quae in codice B.R. Brux. 5527–5534 inueniuntur*, ed. Albert Derolez, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 66A (Turnhout, 1988), *Ep.* 18, p. 232: "Mulierem in ecclesia docere non permittit apostolus; sed hec, per assumptionem spiritus ab hac conditione soluta est et per eius magisterium erudita…"

[17] Vito of Cortona, *Vita auctore Vito Cortonensi*, Acta Sanctorum, Maius IV, 13 (Antwerp, 1685), col. 390: "Quid de prædicatione, qua magis opere prædicavit quam verbo, et corpore mortua prædicare non cessat, et in perpetuum prædicabit?"

[18] On Umiliana dei Cerchi, see Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Una santa vedova," in her "*In castro poenitentiae: Santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale*, Italia sacra 45 (Rome, 1990), pp. 59–98, at 61–62, 76–77, 81–84; Bernhard Schlager, "Foundresses of the Franciscan Life. Umiliana Cerchi and Margaret of Cortona," *Viator* 29 (1998), 141–66.

[19] With respect to Margherita of Cortona's body, see Daniel Bornstein, "The Uses of the Body. The Church and the Cult of Santa Margherita da Cortona," *Church History* 62 (1993), 163–77.

Catherine "preached herself" and that the friar says this after she has safely departed this life. What of Catherine's speech during her life? Raymond prepares the way for sanctifying Catherine's speech just as he does for other aspects of her public ministry and her penitent practices. His narrative simultaneously restrains Catherine's actions and pushes beyond the bounds of acceptable saintly behavior for women.

Raymond reports early signs of Catherine's public ministry: the small child uttered wise words (*prudentula verba*), and the neighbors took her home so that they could listen to her. They began to call her Euphrosyne, a foreshadowing of her desire to imitate the 5th-century Alexandrian saint who dressed as a man in order to enter a monastery. The child gained renown for the wisdom and prudence of her words (*sapientia et prudentia sermonum ejus*).[20]

According to Raymond's account, Catherine experienced a transformative vision at the age of six, in which Christ, along with Peter, Paul, and John the Evangelist, appeared to her and gave her his blessing. The spiritual and intellectual enlightenment she received enkindled her desire to imitate the saints, particularly Dominic. This desire for imitation of the saints produced more than one type of holy activity: Catherine reportedly imitated ascetic practices of scourging and fasting as well as prayer, meditation, and silence.[21] She began to influence other girls not only by her actions but by her words. The girls gathered around the future saint to hear her "salvific words" (*salutifera verba*).[22] The small child whose wise sayings impressed her neighbors had begun to gather a following, an early sign that she would inspire other women to become penitents.[23]

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[20] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.2.27, p. 27. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.2.27.860C: "Rapiebat enim eam unusquisque vicinorum et consanguineorum, et ad domum propriam ducebant, ut audirent prudentula verba ejus, et gratissimæ ejus infantilis lætitiæ consortio fruerentur: ita ut ex quadam lætitia excessivi solatii, proprium nomen ei auferrent, et non Catharinam, sed Euphrosynam vocarent, quo instinctu, ignoro. Sed ipsa quandoque postmodum reputavit, ut infra patebit, mysterium; quando scilicet S. Euphrosinam proposuit imitari…Sapientia siquidem et prudentia sermonum ejus, necnon et dulcedo sanctæ conversationis ejus, non posset nec lingua nec calamo facile recitari."

[21] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.2.29–31, pp. 29–31. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.1.29–31.860E–861C.

[22] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.2.31, p. 30. *Legenda maior*, I.1.31.861C: "Hoc exemplo quamplures puellæ ejus coætaneæ motæ, ad ipsam congregabantur, audire gestientes salutifera verba ejus, et juxta suum modulum imitari sancta opera ejus."

[23] Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," p. 149, discusses Catherine's childhood and influences on her friends but does not focus on her speech.

After making her vow of virginity at the age of seven, Catherine experienced an even stronger desire to imitate St Dominic and the Order of Preachers. Raymond asserts that Catherine saw that her gender would be an obstacle. Therefore, she longed to "join the Friars in helping to save souls," and she thought of imitating St Euphrosyne, who "pretended that she was a man," so that she [Catherine] could enter the Order of Preachers and bring "help to souls who were perishing."[24] Raymond cleverly adjusted the biography of Euphrosyne: Catherine's purpose in disguising herself as a man would be to join the Dominican order and save souls. Raymond clearly aims to justify Catherine's mission despite her transgression of gender bounds.[25]

The motif of *imitatio fratrum* surfaces again in Part One of Raymond's narrative. Catherine's father saw his daughter in her brother's room praying while a dove hovered over her head.[26] The biographer reports that Catherine wished to take the habit of the order of the Friar Preachers and that she prayed unceasingly to that end. St Dominic appeared to her in a dream vision with other founder saints and promised her she would put on his habit.[27] That vision had

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[24] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.3.38, pp. 37–38. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.1.38.862F–863A. My translation of *Legenda maior*, I.1.38.863A: "Hinc crevit desiderium maximum in mente ejus intrandi Ordinem illum, ut posset cum aliis Fratribus animarum saluti prodesse. Sed cum videret in hoc repugnantiam sexus, cogitavit frequentius, ut ipsa mihi confessa est, beatam Euphrosynam, cujus nomen a casu erat ei olim impositum, in hoc imitari: ut scilicet sicut illa, fingens se masculum, intravit monasterium monachorum; sic ista remotas ad partes accedens, ubi esset incognita, fingendo se masculum, Ordinem Prædicatorum intraret, ubi posset subvenire pereuntibus animabus."

[25] See Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," pp. 156–57, on Euphrosyne and Raymond's use of her model. Luongo, *Saintly Politics*, p. 144, notes that Neri de Landoccio Pagliaresi, a follower of Catherine, composed a verse adaptation of the story of Euphrosyne. As Scott points out throughout "Mystical Death, Bodily Death," the holy woman focuses not on her gender in her letters but instead on her mission. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), p. 52, notes that Catherine does, however, engage in the rhetoric of gender in other contexts, notably, in letters to Queen Joan of Naples, where Catherine casts the queen's support of Urban VI as virile and her shift to Clement VII as unstably feminine. See also Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 288–94, on women's symbols and cross-dressing.

[26] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.3.52, pp. 50–51, at p. 51. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.2.52.866C.

[27] *The Life of Catherine of Siena,* trans. Kearns, 1.5.53, pp. 49–50. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.53.866D/E. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.53.866E: "Videbatur siquidem ancillæ Christi in somnis, quod plures videret sanctos Patres et Fundatores Ordinum diversorum, inter quos erat Beatissimus Dominicus: quem optime cognoscebat, quia gerebat in manibus ejus lilium candidissimum et pulcherrimum,

an immediate impact on Catherine's speech. As Raymond puts it, "the virgin's mind was consoled and strengthened by the vision; soon she took such great boldness from the faith she had in God that on the same day, she gathered her parents and siblings and addressed them boldly."[28] She revealed her intentions clearly and effectively. Her words brought tears, sobs, sighs, and change of heart, much as an effective sermon would.[29] The biographer asserts that Catherine herself narrated to him the entire ordered account of her vision and of the words that she spoke to her parents and brother.[30] Catherine's discourse, from its orderly sequence to the effects it produced, shows the characteristics of a good sermon.

Raymond describes Catherine's penances at length when he recounts her freedom to lead the style of life she wished at home. He does not omit the power of holy speech. He reports that Catherine, "if she had had listeners who understood her and discussed with her, would have abstained from food and drink in order to continue talking of God for a hundred days and nights."[31] To "speak of God or discuss him with people who understood" was "refreshment" that revived her physically. After moments in which she was able to speak about God, she became "stronger and more joyful," while the lack of such occasions made

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quod, velut alter Moysi rubus, patenter ardebat, et nequaquam comburebatur…illa versus B. Dominicum suos dirigens gressus et oculos, vidit sanctum Patrem protinus sibi occurrentem, et habentem altera in manu habitum Sororum, quæ dicuntur de pœnitentia B. Dominici, quarum in civitate Senensi non parvus erat numerus et est. Qui ut appropinquavit ei, talibus eam verbis est consolatus, dicens: Filia dulcissima, forti animo esto, nec verearis quodcumque impedimentum; quia certissime isto habitu, sicut desideras, indueris."

[28] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.5.54–55, pp. 50–51, at p. 51; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.54–55.866A/C. My translation from *Legenda maior*, 1.5.54, col. 866F: "Hac igitur visione consolata simul et confirmata mens virginis, mox tantam a fiducia quam habebat in Domino sumpsit audaciam, quod eodem die parentes congregans et germanos, ipsos taliter audaciter est allocuta."

[29] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.5.55, pp. 51–52. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.55.67B.

[30] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.5.56, p. 53. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.56.867C: "Sed de verbis, ultimo dictis parentibus et germanis, dum ego investigarem ab ea, qualiter fecerat in persecutionibus illis, ipsa mihi totum et ordinate disseruit et narravit."

[31] My translation. See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.6.62, p. 57. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.62.868C/D: "si habuisset intelligentes et conferentes, centum diebus et totidem noctibus absque cibo et potu stetisset ad loquendum de Deo."

her "listless and lifeless."[32] On the one hand, then, Raymond presents Catherine as filled with the potential for edifying an audience that she did not have (but was going to have); on the other hand, the degree of contact Catherine had with the world outside remains ambiguous. Amidst the ambiguity, the importance for Catherine of talking about God stands very clear and prepares the way for the expansion of her role.

In the circumstances of Catherine's serious illness, the sisters of the Mantellata visited her at home. They were so impressed by the fervor of her words, her prudence, and maturity that they departed, having been edified and made joyous (*ædificatæ simul et letificatæ*).[33] Subsequently, they sought permission to receive her into their order. As Catherine had once influenced other little girls, now she had an impact on the sisters. The power of Catherine's speech and person influenced a growing audience in these and later episodes of the *Legenda.* The impact of Catherine's speech brings to mind the advice of the *artes praedicandi* on the goals of preaching, notably its power to move listeners and to turn them away from sin and to repentance and conversion of heart.[34]

Part One of the *Legenda* contains other reports of Catherine's holy speech. Raymond recounts that he himself, before he became Catherine's confessor, was moved to physical and spiritual health by

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[32] My translation of key phrases. See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.6.62, pp. 57–58. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.6.62.868C/D: "nec unquam lassabatur in hoc, imo semper hilarior et recentior reddebatur. Revelavit mihi etiam sæpius quod nullum tantum habebat refrigerium in hac vita, quantum cum intelligentibus loqui de Deo sive conferre: quod et nos qui cum ea eramus, per experientiam videbamus. Aperte namque perpendebamus, quod quando habere poterat tempus loquendi de Deo, et differendi quæ suo latebant in corde; recentior, fortior et hilarior etiam corporaliter apparebat: cum vero hoc ei non licebat, debilis efficiebatur, et quasi exanimis."

[33] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.7.73, p. 67; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.4.73.871A: "verba tamen per quæ sui desiderii fervorem exprimebat, prudentiamque ac maturitatem puellæ percipientes et advertentes, stupere cœperunt pariter et gaudere; cognoveruntque puellam hanc corpore, mente jam canam, multas anus virtutibus præcedere coram Deo, Quapropter nimis ædificatæ simul et letificatæ, recedentes ab ea, et ad consocias redeuntes, quæ viderant et audierant cum non parvo gaudio retulere."

[34] See n. 7 above. The examples from the *Legenda* stand in contrast to what Lehmijoki-Gardner observes in Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints: Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200–1500* (Helsinki, 1999), p. 119, that many accounts of penitent women's speech do not emphasize the impact that the woman's words had on her listeners.

Catherine's "talking about God" (*loqui de Deo*). He recounts her visit to him in the nearby Dominican convent, where he lay ill. Her words led him to a vision that brought tears of contrition. Catherine stopped talking to him in the face of such tears but left him "fortified in spirit and filled with happiness."[35] Hence, Catherine's speech functioned just as an effective sermon would, bringing the listener to contrition.

In these final chapters of Part One of the *Legenda*, Raymond states that Catherine "did not cease teaching those she wanted to lead on the path of God."[36] At one point, Raymond summarizes, saying, "No day passed but she spoke such words as these to her disciples, animating them to that holy hatred and warning them against love of self."[37] Here and in the earlier passages cited, Raymond depicts Catherine breaking through the parameters of absolute silence and seclusion that he has claimed.[38] This portrayal of Catherine as both silent and salvifically loquacious mirrors the constant effort to balance the active and contemplative life that scholars have noted in the *Legenda*.[39] Furthermore, it reveals the hagiographer's tension over the depiction of a holy woman's speech: how to avoid the vocabulary of preaching but allow for the impact on an audience.

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[35] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.9.88–89, pp. 80–82; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.5.88–89.875B/D. My translation from 1.5.89.875C/D: "Ipsa vero incipiente, juxta morem suum loqui de Deo et de ingratitudine nostra, qui tantum benefactorem offendimus; quasi confortatus simul et propter honestatem coactus, de lecto surrexi…statimque abscessit, et ego cum socio remansi, ædificatus similiter et lætificatus."

[36] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.10.101, p. 93; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.6.101.878C: "Porro ex hac conjunctione doctrix hæc disciplinæ Dei, unam aliam inferebat, quam non cessabat his quos in via Dei volebat instruere, quotidie replicare."

[37] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.10.102, p. 94; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.6.102.878C: "Hæc et similia verba proferebat, suis quotidie sanctum illud odium commendando, et amorem proprium detestando."

[38] *Inter alia*, see *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.9.82–83, p. 76; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.5.82–83.873F, where he claims that she kept complete silence for three years: "Proposuit igitur pro puritate melius observanda, arctissimum tenere silentium, nec alicui loqui, nisi dum confiteretur peccata sua. Unde, prout Confessor ejus, qui me in hoc præcessit officio, et refert et in scriptis redegit, tribus annis continue silentium tenuit, quod nulli nisi Confessori, quando confitebatur tantum, penitus est locuta." "Intra clausuram cellulæ habitabat continue, nec egrediebatur inde, nisi cum ad ecclesiam properabat." Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.7.117.882C, announces the end of the silence and claustration: "Postremo, noveris lector, hic finem primæ parti hujus Legendæ fore ponendum, ubi etiam finis est ejus silentii et clausuræ; ut secunda pars recitanda, faciente Domino, habeat ea quæ sacra virgo inter homines gessit ad honorem Dei et animarum salutem."

[39] Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*, pp. 179–80.

To summarize, Raymond depicts Catherine's holy speech in Part One of the *Legenda* beginning with the precociously wise and talkative small child who first entertains and astounds her neighbors and then inspires an audience of children to imitation. Within the secluded period of her life, her words have an impact on her father, the *mantellate* who visit her sickbed, Raymond himself, and unnamed other individuals. Her love of "talking about God" breaks through the mold of silence and seclusion that Raymond fashions. These eruptions of sacred speech, along with Catherine's fervor for speaking about God, the nourishment she derives from it, and the impact she has on her limited audiences prepare the way for public ministry. Perhaps these moments indicate that Catherine's seclusion and silence were never as complete as Raymond describes them.

Raymond opens Part Two of the *Legenda* with the proclamation that Catherine responded with a protest to Christ's call to "leave the sweetness of rest for toil, the silence of solitude for outcries, the privacy of her cell for public spaces."[40] Christ reminds her of the vision that she experienced as a child, to disguise herself as a man, to join the Order of Preachers, and to travel to foreign areas in order that she might benefit other souls. He assures her that the time has come for her to take on the Dominican habit and the work she has longed for.[41] After the reiteration of this authorizing vision at the outset of Part Two of the *Legenda*, Raymond refers to Catherine as a disciple (*discipula*) and imitator (*imitatrix*) of Christ.[42] To expound the implications of that

[40] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.118, p. 114; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.118.882F: "Illa vero, ex notitia vocis Pastoris sui et Sponsi, ab illo intelligens se vocatam, de quietis dulcedine ad labores, de silentii solitudine ad clamores, et de cubiculi secretis ad publicum, voce querulosa respondit." My translation.

[41] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.121, p. 116; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.121, col. 883D: "Memor esse debes, quomodo ab infantia zelus salutis animarum, me seminante simul et irrigante, crevit in corde tuo, in tantum quod proponebas te fingere masculum, et ignotis in partibus Ordinem Prædicatorum intrare, ut possis utilis animabus effici: et ex hoc, quem nunc habes, habitum tanto cum fervore desiderasti, propter singularem amorem, quem ad servum meum fidelem Dominicum concepisti, qui propter animarum zelum præcipue suum instituit Ordinem."

[42] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.121, p. 116; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.121.883D: "At illa sicut bona discipula, imitatrix magistri." Kaerns translates it as "pupil." See Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," pp. 395, 404–05, on the apostolic language Catherine used for herself, Mary Magdalene, and the apostles, in terms of love leading to public service and preaching. Raymond refers to Magdalene as Catherine's *magistra* and *mater*. *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans.

identity, the hagiographer has Catherine express concerns about the limits on her femaleness.[43] Catherine's hesitations are met with a stern reply from Jesus:

> Am I not the one who created humankind and fashioned both sexes? Does it not depend on my own will where I shall pour out my grace? With me there is neither male nor female, neither common people nor nobles, because I can do all things equally.[44]

He goes on to say that God will send "women, ignorant and fragile by nature," namely Catherine, to proud, learned men in order to make them humble.[45] The phrase "women, ignorant and fragile by nature" echoes Raymond's insistence on Catherine's lack of learning and femaleness at the same time that it foreshadows his account of Pope Gregory XI's response to the holy woman at Avignon when she addresses the cardinals. This passage and its subsequent remarks on women clearly reflect Raymond's attention to Catherine's detractors. As Karen Scott observes, Catherine would not have voiced such misogynist portrayals of women.[46]

Raymond constructs Catherine's public ministry in steps, from acts of humility to works of charity, all accompanied by penance and punctuated with frequent moments of ecstasy. Christ instructs her that

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Kearns, 1.6.64, p. 59. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.3.64.869A: "Propter quod existimo, quod Dominus ipse, ac ejus Genitrix gloriosa, prout infra Domino donante patebit, Magdalenam huic virgini dederunt pro magistra et matre."

[43] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.121, p. 116; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.121.883D/E: "Sed obsecro Domine, si non nimis præsumo, quomodo fiet istud quod modo dixisti, scilicet quod possum ego, misella et omni ex parte fragilis, esse utilis animabus? Sexus enim contradicit, ut nosti, ex pluribus causis: tum quia contemptibilis est coram hominibus, tum etiam quia honestate cogente, non decet talem sexum cum sexu alio conversari."

[44] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.122, p. 116; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.122.883E: "Nonne sum ille ego, qui humanum creavi genus, sexumque utrumque formavi; ac gratiam spiritus mei, ubi volo, effundo? Non est apud me masculus et femina, nec plebejus et nobilis; sed cuncta æqualia sunt coram me, quia cuncta æqualiter possum."

[45] After stating that pride prevails in her day, God specifies Catherine's role. *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.122, p. 117; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.122.883E/F: "Dabo, inquit, feminas, de sui natura ignorantes et fragiles, sed a me virtute et sapientia divina dotatas, in confusionem temeritatis eorum. Quod si per hoc recognoverint se ac humiliaverint, faciam misericordiam meam pleniorem cum eis, id est, cum illis, qui doctrinam meam, per vasa fragilia sed electa delatam ad ipsos, cum reverentia qua decet, suscipient et sequentur, juxta gratiam sibi datam."

[46] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.1.122, pp. 116–17; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.1.122.883E/F. Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," p. 174.

> her heart will be strongly enkindled for the salvation of her neighbors; she will forget the conventions of her sex and change her past way of life entirely; she will not shun the company of men and women but she will apply all her strength for their salvation.[47]

"Many will be scandalized," Christ warns, but he will deliver her from "the deceitful and mendacious."[48] Shortly thereafter, Raymond asserts that Catherine's stomach changed so that she no longer needed food.[49] Raymond deflects attention from her speech until after this physical transformation and after other significant events: the vision of Christ removing and replacing the holy woman's heart, that of her heart entering into Christ's side, and her reception of the stigmata.[50] Scholars have noted that Raymond altered the chronology of Catherine's life to place these events before her public ministry and that Catherine herself describes the heart episode metaphorically and not physically.[51]

Prior to Catherine's reception of the stigmata (*Legenda maior* 2.6.193–95), the biographer asserts that Catherine's body demonstrated more miraculous power when it levitated. She then uttered some words that were heard by three witnesses, who were moved to

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[47] My translation. See: *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.5.165, pp. 158–59. *Legenda maior*, II.5.165.894F: "Insuper erga salutem proximorum tam vehementer accendetur cor tuum, quod proprii sexus oblita, quasi ex toto conversationem præteritam omnino immutabis, hominumque et feminarum consortium, prout assoles, non vitabis: imo pro salute animarum ipsorum et ipsarum, te ipsam expones pro viribus ad omnes labores."

[48] My translation of selected phrases. See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.5.165, pp. 158–59; *Legenda maior*, II.5.165.894F: "Ex his scandalizabuntur quamplurimi, a quibus contradicetur, ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes. Tu autem in nullo turberis aut timeas, quia ego semper tecum ero, et liberabo semper animam tuam a lingua dolosa, et a labiis loquentium mendacium. Exequaris ergo viriliter quæ unctio te docebit, quia multas animas per te de faucibus eripiam inferorum, et mea mediante gratia, ducam ad regna cælorum." Scott notes that the language of overflowing grace here corresponds to part of the discourse in the *artes praedicandi* in "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," p. 169, n. 94.

[49] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.5.167, pp. 160–61; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.5.167.895C: "Igitur, sicut in secreto ipsa mihi confessa est, et in scriptis reperi Confessoris me præcedentis, tanta in mentem ejus descendit copia gratiarum et consolationum cælestium post visionem prædictam, et potissime quando recipiebat sacram Communionem; quod redundans in corpus per superefluentiam quamdam, consumptionem radicalis humidi adeo temperabat, stomachique naturam taliter immutabat, quod sumptio corporalis cibi non modo necessaria non erat, sed nec fieri poterat absque corporali ejus tormento."

[50] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.179–80, pp. 174–76; 2.6.186–87, pp. 180–81; 2.6.193–95, pp. 184–86; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.179–80.898D–898F; II.7.186–87.900A/B; II.7.193–95.901C/F.

[51] Luongo, *Saintly Politics*, p. 52.

tears.[52] Other than that instance, the holy woman's speech to anyone but Raymond temporarily fades into the background of the *vita*. Meanwhile, Raymond tactfully inserts a vision of St Dominic which Catherine experienced; in it God calls Dominic his adopted son and explains his preaching mission to bring truth "to the whole world, heretics and Catholics alike," and "to free souls from the nooses of evil and vices." However, God gives no charge to Catherine in this passage.[53]

Another authorizing vision comes from Christ during Catherine's mystical death.[54] The Savior commands the holy woman to leave her city and "to give proofs of the Spirit that is in you, before small and great, before lay people and clergy and religious." He promises to give her "a mouth and a wisdom which none shall be able to resist" and to lead her to the pope.[55] As Raymond reports Catherine's description of the experience, her mission was the salvation of her fellow humans. Christ charged her with correcting and leading them from evil to good.[56]

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[52] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.192, p. 184. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.6.192.901B/C: "tandem descendit ad lectum prædictum, et cœpit loqui silenter verba vitæ, super mel et favum dulcia pariter et profunda, quæ omnes socias audientes commovebant ad fletum."

[53] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.204–205, pp. 194–96. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.204–05.904A/D. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.204.904C: "Sic filius meus adoptivus Dominicus, veritatem verborum meorum prædicavit palam mundo, tam inter hæreticos quam inter catholicos…sic filius meus adoptivus Dominicus, totum studium et conatum suum posuit semper ad liberandum animas tam de laqueo errorum quam de laqueo vitiorum."

[54] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.213–16, pp. 201–05. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.213–16.905F–906F.

[55] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.216, pp. 204–05. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.216.906E/F: "Multarum animarum salus requirit ut redeas, nec amplius modum vivendi tenebis, quem tenuisti huc usque, nec cellam pro habitaculo habebis de cetero; quin potius et urbem te propriam egredi oportebit pro animarum salute. Ego autem semper tecum ero, et ducam et reducam: portabisque nominis mei honorem et spiritalia documenta coram parvis et magnis, tam laicis quam clericis et religiosis: ego enim tibi dabo os et sapientiam, cui nullus resistere poterit. Adducam etiam te coram Pontificibus et Rectoribus Ecclesiarum ac populi Christiani, ut consueto meo modo, per infirma fortiorum confundam superbiam."

[56] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.216, p. 205; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.216.906F: "Totum autem mihi accidit propter proximorum salutem. Nullus igitur admiretur, si excessive diligo illos et illas, quos et quas commonefacere, ac a malis ad bonum convertere mihi concessit Altissimus, quia non parvo pretio emi ipsos: propter eos enim anathema facta sum a Domino, et a gloria ejus suspensa per tempus mihi adhuc incertum."

Before Catherine assumed a ministry that involved preaching, even though Raymond does not name it preaching, she experienced death mystically and nearly physically as she subsisted primarily on water. The biographer saw the vision that authorized preaching as potentially scandalous, to the point that he forbade all the religious under his care to utter a word about it during her lifetime.[57] To justify his decision about revealing the secret, Raymond recounts a miracle that occurred after Catherine's death—a hagiographic "fast forward." Brother John, seized with weeping at the loss of Catherine, ruptured a blood vessel in his lungs and seemed at the point of death when, on the advice of Father Thomas, Catherine's confessor, he took hold of the holy woman's hand and was cured immediately.[58] Thus Raymond leaps ahead from Catherine's powerful vision of Christ to her actual death (not her mystical or virtual death) and John's miracle-producing contact with her. This "fast-forward" bolsters the authority of her vision from Christ—the mandate for a public mission—and Raymond's decision to reveal that vision. He explains that he does this "so that the gift of divine piety and a miracle so enormous and evident would not be kept hidden by his negligence."[59] Raymond evokes the death of Catherine's physical body in order to authorize her public speech; likewise, he calls upon the spiritual power that her physical body exerted after death as the grounds for his decision to reveal the vision.

Catherine's word gains power in the *Legenda* when she converts the contentious and powerful banker, Nanni di Ser Vanni.[60] Nanni initially

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[57] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.217, pp. 205–06; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.217.906F–907A: "His auditis et intellectis juxta gratiam mihi datam, perpendi conferendo in corde meo, quod propter moderni temporis cæcitatem et incredulitatem hominum seipsos amantium, non essent hæc omnibus propalanda. Qua de causa prohibui Fratribus et Sororibus meis, quod ipsa vivente nullatenus talia divulgarent."

[58] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.218, pp. 206–07; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.218.907B/C: "Dum autem hæc agerentur, Frater Thomas Confessor virginis, magna cum fide dicto Fratri Ioanni dixit: Constat mihi hanc virginem magni esse meriti apud Deum: apponas igitur manus corporis ejus sacri super locum tuæ tam horribilis passionis, et indubitanter curaberis. Quod cum ille, cunctis qui adstabant cernentibus, perfecisset; mox ita plene curatus est, acsi numquam illa passione fuisset gravatus."

[59] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.218, p. 206; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.218.907A: "Verum ex quo nunc in paradisum, non reditura usque ad generalem resurrectionem, est jam rapta, et cursum hujus vitæ fragilis terminavit; necessitatum me putavi et puto ad hoc revelandum, ne divinæ pietatis donum, et tam ingens tamque apertum miraculum, mea ex negligentia occultetur."

[60] Luongo, *Saintly Politics*, pp. 132–35.

"closes the ears of his heart" to her, just as he rejected the preaching of the friars, declaring: "In no way do I intend to agree; it is not necessary to preach to me about this, because I will never consent."[61] The verb *praedicare* here seems to designate Nanni's rejection of Dominican preachers and open the door for Catherine to reach him with another mode of expression. Catherine meets his resistance with prayer, whereupon he experiences a change of heart, marked by a burst of tears, and then seeks her counsel.[62] The prayer, uttered in Nanni's presence, functions as a mode of efficacious speech.[63] Catherine admonishes Nanni, saying, "I spoke to you and you scorned me; I spoke to the Lord and he did not spurn my prayer." Given a second chance to heed Catherine, Nanni takes her advice to do penance, makes his confession to Raymond, and makes peace with his enemies and with God.[64] Shortly thereafter, he is released from a death sentence.[65]

In the *Legenda*'s narrative, Nanni's conversion functions as a model for the repentance of many others. The biographer relates that immediately after Nanni's release from prison, people flock to hear and to see Catherine (*ad eam videndam et audiendam*). Raymond describes a thousand or more men and women, "as if rallied by the sound of a trumpet, crowding in from the mountains and the country districts around Siena, to see and hear her." He then steps back a bit and asserts that the men and women repented not only at her word but at her

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[61] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.236, p. 224. My translation of Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.10.236.912D: "Sed ego nullo modo consentire intendo, nec oportet mihi super hoc prædicare, quia numquam consentiam."

[62] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.235–38, pp. 222–26. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.235–38.912B–913C.

[63] Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," p. 115, notes the narrative importance of this passage as a springboard for asserting Catherine's influence over people. Scott also notes that Catherine uses speech and prayer as means of influence.

[64] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.237, p. 225. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.237.912E/F: "Locuta sum tibi, et contempsisti: locuta sum Domino et non sprevit orationem meam. Pœnitentiam igitur age de peccatis tuis, ne repentina super te veniat tribulatio. Quid amplius immorer? Cum magna contritione confessus est mihi cuncta peccata sua: cum omnibus hostibus per manum virginis pacem fecit; et cum Altissimo, quem offenderat longis temporibus, se reconciliavit juxta consilium meum."

[65] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.238, p. 226. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.238.912F–913A: "Et sicut dixit, ita factum est: quia post non multos dies liberatus est de carcere illo, quamvis in temporalibus sustinuerit non parvam iacturam: de quo sancta virgo gaudebat, dicens; Venenum, quo inficiebatur, abstulit ei Dominus."

holy appearance—a theme he returns to often (*non modo ad verbum ejus, sed ad ejus aspectum*).[66] Raymond does not record that Catherine spoke to these people in groups; however, the trumpet holds a long-standing place in the imagery of preaching. The trumpet in biblical passages such as Isaiah 58:1, 1 Corinthians 15:52, and Revelation 4:1 was often interpreted as a figure for preaching or the preacher.[67] Here, Catherine's deeds, words, and appearance sound the trumpet call. Raymond uses the motif of seeing and hearing again when he relates that the people of Pisa yearned to see and hear the holy woman after the plague. They "wanted to hear her teaching," he says, "which was called wondrous and was."[68] Both the trumpet and the hagiographic motif of hastening toward the holy person recall the biography of an earlier Italian lay penitent woman, Margaret of Cortona (1247–97). Her biographer, Giunta Bevegnati, describes the Tuscan Franciscan penitent several times as a trumpet. Moreover, the people of Cortona rush to the oratory of San Francesco to see Margaret's performance of the Passion.[69]

Catherine performs many transformations through prayer, but conversions brought about by her direct speech to someone retain a strong presence in the narrative. Raymond asserts that the gift of prophecy was evident to all who spoke with her or who came to her for the salvation

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[66] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.6.239, p. 227. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.8.239.913B/C: "Vidi ego quandoque mille vel eo amplius utriusque sexus homines, simul de montanis et aliis regionibus comitatus Senensis, ad eam videndam et audiendam, tuba vocante invisibili, concurrisse: qui et quæ non modo ad verbum ejus, sed ad ejus aspectum, mox de suis compungebantur criminibus, flentes ac lugentes sua peccata: currebant ad Confessores, quorum unus ego fui."

[67] See James M. Blaettler, "Preaching the Power of Penitence in the *Silos Beatus*," in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, eds. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly M. Kienzle, Debra Stoudt, and Anne Thayer, Textes et études du Moyen Age 9 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), pp. 35–61, at p. 58.

[68] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.8.257, p. 241. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.12.257.917C: "Contigit temporibus illis, post finem pestis superius recitatæ, quod plures utriusque sexus homines, tam religiosi quam alii, sed specialiter quædam moniales civitatis Pisanæ, audita virginis sacræ fama laudabili, magno æstuabant desiderio ipsam videndi, et ipsius doctrinam, quæ dicebatur et erat mirabilis, audiendi."

[69] For the trumpet image, see *Iunctae Bevegnatis Legenda de vita et miraculis beatae Margaritae de Cortona*, ed. Fortunato Iozzelli, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi 13 (Rome, 1997), 8.13, p. 361, ll. 360, 362–65, 370. For the crowds rushing in, see *Legenda*, 5, p. 244, ll. 86–90.

of their souls.[70] Another powerful Sienese figure, Nicola of Sarracenis, enters the narrative at this point. Nicola, like Nanni, mocked salutary advice, but in this case, it was Nicola's wife who admonished him. Catherine meanwhile was flourishing in her work of converting obstinate sinners. Raymond notes that she "was teaching daily, and those who spoke with her, however hardened in sin, either converted completely, as happened to most, or at least gave up many of their usual sins."[71] Nicola resisted the advice of his neighbors who urged him to speak with Catherine at least once. He replied with disdain: "What is that little woman (*muliercula*) to me? What good could she do me in 100 years?"[72] Nicola's wife, who worked in Catherine's household, begged Catherine to pray for her husband.[73] Catherine then appeared to Nicola in a dream and "admonished" him to agree to his wife's "admonitions" if he wished to avoid eternal damnation.[74] Raymond uses the same semantic space (*moneo, monitum*) for the speech of both women. However, Catherine's efficacious words, what I would call a sermon dream, moved Nicola to go to the holy woman and speak to her. Raymond sums up the result of the preaching dream and conversation: "He went, he spoke, he wholly converted to the Lord, and he

[70] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.277, p. 258. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.277.922D: "Erat siquidem in hac sacra virgine spiritus propheticus, tam perfectus et tam continuus, quod nihil poterat eam latere, ut videbatur, de pertinentibus ad eam, sive ad eos qui cum ea conversabantur, aut qui ad eam recurrebant pro salute animæ suæ."

[71] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.278, p. 259. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.278.922F: "Sane tunc temporis sancta virgo florebat multis virtutibus in eadem civitate Senensi, sed singularius in peccatorum etiam obstinatorum conversione mirabili: experientiaque docebat quotidie, quod nullos, quantumcunque induratus, loquebatur cum ea, quin vel converteretur ex toto, quod in pluribus accidebat, vel saltem a multis consuetis peccatis in posterum abstineret."

[72] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.278, p. 259. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.278.922F: "Quod ille plus despiciens, respondebat: Quid mihi et mulierculæ illi? quid boni posset mihi adferre in centum annis?"

[73] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.278, p. 259. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.278.922F: "Tunc uxor ejus, quæ sacræ virginis erat domestica, ipsam adiit, duritiam cordis mariti sui aperuit, eique supplicavit, ut pro ipso dignaretur Dominum exorare."

[74] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.279, p. 260. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.279.923A: "virgo sancta militi quadam nocte in somnis apparuit, ipsumque monuit, ut si vellet æternam damnationem effugere, uxoris propriæ monitis assentiret."

promised he would at the next opportunity confess his sins to Friar Thomas, the virgin's confessor."[75]

The word *muliercula*, which Raymond puts in the mouth of Nicola, appears in 2 Timothy 3:6 for women who presume to teach in public: "wretched little women, burdened with sins," "curious and verbose, forward, shameless and impudent," who "enter the houses of other people."[76] Surely, Raymond, who has Gregory XI utter the same word, knew the word's connotation and its use in debates over women's teaching, preaching, and public ministry.

As the reputation of Catherine's words increased, the prior of the Carthusian monastery at Gorgona, an island off the coast of Pisa, repeatedly requested that she visit. Raymond chooses his words carefully to recount this episode. The prior had heard about the teaching and wondrous deeds of Catherine, and he repeatedly asked Raymond to come to the island so that he might "bring the brethren to her to receive a word of holy edification."[77] Once the group of about 20 persons, male and female, at last made the journey, the prior led all the monks to the house where Catherine and her women companions were lodged and "asked her for a word of edification for the benefit of his sons."[78] Raymond recounts Catherine's protestations of unsuitability

[75] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.279, p. 260. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.14.279.923A: "Venit, locutus est, et ex toto conversus ad Dominum, promisitque in proximo confiteri peccata sua Fratri Thomæ Confessori virginis."

[76] On *muliercula* in medieval debates about women preaching, see Beverly M. Kienzle, "The Prostitute-Preacher: Patterns of Polemic against Medieval Waldensian Women Preachers," in *Women Preachers and Prophets*, eds. Kienzle and Walker, pp. 99–113, at p. 101.

[77] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.297, pp. 273–74. My translation from *Legenda maior*, II.15.297.927A: "Hic dum ex doctrina mirabili et factis admirandis sacræ virginis, ad ipsam nimis afficeretur, et in sancto proposito firmaretur, sæpius et pluries, frequenter supplicavit, quod ad dictam insulam vellet semel accedere, ut liceret ei Fratres suos ad eam adducere pro sanctæ ædificationis verbo percipiendo, meque rogavit, quod hanc suam petitionem promovere apud eam pro posse curarem."

[78] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.297, p. 274. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.15.297.927A: "Cumque dictus Prior locasset, nocte qua pervenimus, sanctam virginem cum sociabus suis per milliare distanter a monasterio, nosque secum in monasterio tenuisset; mane facto, volens desiderium suum perficere, cunctos Fratres duxit ad eam, rogans ædificationis verbum pro filiis."

because of ignorance and gender but he says that finally she spoke under the Spirit's inspiration.[79] As Raymond tells it, she

> opened her mouth and spoke according as the Holy Spirit gave her to speak, touching on many types of temptations and deceptions that the enemy wages against solitary men and on how to avoid his traps and to achieve perfect victory over him.[80]

She spoke "so well and so rightly ordered" that it astonished Raymond "and the rest who heard it."[81] The prior remarked in astonishment that Catherine knew what lay in the hearts of the monks as if she had heard their confessions. The so-called "words of edification" proved efficacious, for the prior concluded that "[s]he is filled with the spirit of prophecy," and "it is the Holy Spirit who speaks in her."[82] As with other holy women, recognition of the Spirit's voice both affirms the power of their speech and removes their responsibility for it: the Spirit preaches, not the woman.[83]

The remaining references to Catherine's speech concern individual conversions, such as that of Santi, an anchorite who "found more peace and consolation of soul, as well as greater progress in virtue, in following Catherine and hearing her teaching than he had ever previously found in the solitude of his cell."[84] Raymond's remark undoubtedly

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[79] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.296, p. 274. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.15.296.927A: "Exaudivit autem sancta virgo petitionem ejus et accessimus illuc fere viginti utriusque sexus cum ea. Illa vero, licet renueret prius et excusaret se, tum ratione defectus et ignorantiæ, tum etiam ratione sexus; addens quod potius eam decebat doctrinam servorum Dei audire."

[80] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.296, p. 274. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.15.296.927A: "aperuit os suum, et locuta est prout Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illi, tangens multiplices et diversas tentationes ac deceptiones, quas solitariis viris solet ingerere inimicus, et vias evadendi laqueos ejus, ac perveniendi ad perfectam victoriam, cum tanto ac tali ordine, quod stupor erat tam mihi quam ceteris audientibus."

[81] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.296, p. 274. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.15.296.927A: "locuta est…cum tanto ac tali ordine, quod stupor erat tam mihi quam ceteris audientibus."

[82] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.296, p. 274. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.15.296.927B: "Ex quo clare perpendo, quod ipsa est plena spiritu prophetiæ, et Spiritus sanctus loquitur in ea."

[83] See Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen*, pp. 49–53.

[84] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.1.340, p. 316. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.340.938F–939A: "Hic in senectute sua inveniens pretiosam hanc margaritam, virginem scilicet Catherinam, dimissa quiete cellæ ac priori modo vivendi, ut non tantum sibi sed et aliis utilis esset, secutus est eam, potissime propter signa et miracula, quæ tam in se quam in aliis videbat quotidie; asserens quod majorem qui-

reflects his preference for a blend of the active and contemplative life, but his comment also demonstrates his emphasis on the efficaciousness of the holy woman's speech, here described as teaching.

Raymond shifts his vocabulary when he narrates Catherine's speech before the cardinals at Avignon in 1376. He recounts that Pope Gregory XI, after ordering the holy woman to Rome, wanted her, "on account of the schism, which was then beginning, to address a word of exhortation (*verbum faceret exhortationis*) in the presence of the cardinals who were there then."[85] According to Raymond,

> She did this perfectly and roused each and every one of them to strong constancy with many words and statements, showing how God's providence was always present to everyone, but especially strongly when the holy church is suffering. She ended by saying that they ought not to be anxious in any way over the schism that had broken out, but should do God's things and fear no one.[86]

Raymond describes Catherine's utterances in this case as a "word of exhortation," a step closer to preaching than the teaching implied in "a word of edification." The pontiff exclaims: "This little woman (*muliercula*) puts us all to shame." He explains that he uses the word not in contempt but to describe her femaleness, "fragile by nature."[87] However, the gendered and double-edged language ascribed to the pope acclaims Catherine's effective words but reinforces the inferiority of her gender.

Moreover, at three points in the *Legenda*, Raymond explains that he served as the interpreter for Catherine's native Tuscan language to the

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etem et mentis consolationem necnon et profectum virtutum inveniebat, sequendo eam et audiendo doctrinam ipsius, quam unquam reperisset in solitudine cellæ."

[85] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.1.334, p. 311. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.334.937C: "Summus autem Pontifex ea visa gavisus est, voluitque coram Cardinalibus, qui tunc aderant, quod verbum faceret exhortationis, potissime propter schisma, quod tunc incipiebat."

[86] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.1.333–35, pp. 310–11, at p. 311. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.334.937D: "Quod et perfecte fecit, animando unumquemque eorum ad fortem constantiam verbis et sententiis plurimis, ac ostendendo divinam providentiam semper adesse cuilibet, sed potissime cum sancta Ecclesia patitur: et concludendo, quod propter inchoatum schisma in nullo trepidare deberent, sed agere quæ Dei sunt, et nullum timere."

[87] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.1.334, p. 311. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.334.937D: "hæc muliercula nos confundit. Mulierculam autem voco, non in contemptum ejus sed in expressionem sexus feminei, naturaliter fragilis, et ad nostram instructionem."

Latin used for the papal discourse.[88] Raymond's role as interpreter of Catherine's voice from Tuscan to Latin at the papal court distances her speech from the authoritative male voices. He mediates Catherine's voice, and thus he has the most direct verbal contact with the pontiff. This serves to control the authority of her speech and to protect her from detractors.

Raymond's account of Catherine's address to the cardinals contrasts sharply with the forceful rhetoric of her letters to cardinals and other leading figures in the Schism. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski describes Catherine's language as that of a "militant, aggressive fighter."[89] Raymond's account of Catherine speaking to the cardinals also contrasts with the version of the same events recorded by Stefano di Corado Maconi, who asserts that she interpreted many passages of Scripture and delivered many effective and stylistically admirable sermons to the pope.[90] What is known about Stefano's active political life and pro-

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[88] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.4.152, p. 146. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.3.152.891D: "Ceterum ad ampliorem confirmationem eorum quæ diximus, recolo me aliquoties fuisse interpretem inter felicis memoriæ Dominum Gregorium undecimum, summum Pontificem, et hanc sacram virginem, de qua sermo: ipsa enim non intelligebat Latinum sermonem, et summus Pontifex non noverat Italicum idioma." *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 2.10.289, p. 268. Note that the chapter number differs (291, not 289) in Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.15.291.925C/D: "Equidem fateor verum esse, quod hæc sacra virgo semper desideravit, ut fieret sanctum passagium, et pro desiderii sui complemento multipliciter laboravit: istaque fuit causa principalis quodammodo, quare ad dictum dominum Gregorium XI usque Avinionem accessit, ut scilicet eum induceret ad sanctum passagium ordinandum: quod et fecit, me teste; qui vidi et audivi, et præsens fui modis omnibus possibilibus ei. Recolo autem quod dum ipsa semel circa materiam hanc apud dictum Pontificem multum instaret, me præsente et audiente (quoniam interpres eram inter Pontificem, qui loquebatur Latine, et virginem quæ vulgari Tusciæ idiomate utebatur)." See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.6.420, p. 381. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.8.419.956E/F: "fuique interpres inter summum Pontificem et virginem ipsam, illo Latina verba loquente, ista vero in lingua Tusciæ sua verba vulgariter depromente." Note that again the chapter numbers differ (419, English; 420, Latin).

[89] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), p. 50, cites scholars (Noële Denis-Boulet and Hanno Helbling) who consider Catherine's letter to three Italian cardinals who changed sides as the harshest and most cutting letter she ever wrote.

[90] Stefano di Corrado Maconi, *Epistola domni Stefani de gestis et virtutibus S. Catharinæ*, Acta Sanctorum, April. III, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 0961C–0967E at 4.21, col. 966A: "Præter hæc autem habebat ista sacratissima Virgo tantam sapientiam, animæ suæ divinitus infusam, quod omnes audientes eam in stuporem vertebantur. Omnem sacram Paginam ita lucidissime declarabat et interpretabatur, ut omnes, quantumcumque docti sive magistri, velut attoniti mirarentur: et quod etiam apparebat valde mirabile, humana scientia in ejus conspectu ita deficiebat, quemadmodum

Urbanist views (in 1378) informs the perspective on his grand claims for Catherine.[91] His account of Catherine's life shows less restraint overall than Raymond's when he describes the holy woman's speech and asserts, for example, that she led many to confession through her efficacious exhortations.[92] Raymond's narrative of Catherine's role at Avignon appears, therefore, less forceful than her own letters and than Stefano Maconi's version of the events. Raymond certainly insists on his own mediation at Avignon. Perhaps he also toned down Catherine's words.

Visual depictions of Catherine at Avignon vary with respect to the question of whether or not she preached. Roberto Rusconi points out that in Giovanni di Paolo's painting (c. 1463) of Catherine before the cardinals at Avignon, it is difficult to claim that the scene "represents a sermon preached," whereas in the context of early 16th-century calls for reform of the papacy, Catherine came to be represented "'preaching' outdoors before the pope."[93] These changes demonstrate shifts in the visual as well as the verbal representations of the same event according to the historical context and the views of the writer or artist. Nonetheless, when Pope Pius II (1458–64) issued the canonization bull for Catherine, he asserted that she "rarely slept for more than two hours by day and night. The rest of her time she was exhausted in vigils, prayer, preaching, and doing works of mercy."[94]

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nix vel glacies in aspectu solis ardentissimi liquefieri solet. Pluries fecit efficacissimos et admirando stylo sermones, in præsentia Domini Gregorii Papæ XI, et postea Domini Urbani Papæ VI, atque Dominorum Cardinalium, dicentium unanimiter admiratione multa suspensi, Numquam sic locutus est homo: et absque dubio ista non est."

[91] Luongo, *Saintly Politics*, pp. 147–55.

[92] Maconi, *Epistola domni Stefani*: 3.17, col. 965A: "Et ad majorem expressionem istius veritatis, a pertissime mihi constat, quod propter efficacissimas exhortationes ejus ipsa confiteri fecit, etiam in præsentia mea, utriusque sexus multa millia hominum, quia nullus omnino poterat ei resistere."

[93] See Roberto Rusconi, "Women's Sermons at the End of the Middle Ages: Texts from the Blessed and Images of the Saints," in *Women Preachers and Prophets*, eds. Kienzle and Walker, pp. 173–95, at pp. 187–88, on teaching and preaching. Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," pp. 430–31, discusses teaching and preaching in the context of the need for bolstering Catherine's authority.

[94] "Raro enim ultra duas horas inter diu noctuque dormiebat. Reliquum omne tempus vigilando, orando, predicando, opera misericordiae agendo, contrivit." Pope Pius II, "Bolla di canonizzazione di S. Caterina da Siena," in *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942), pp. 521–30, at p. 528. I am grateful to John Zaleski for this reference.

Vernacular texts about Catherine—the *Miracoli* and the *laude*—depict her more directly engaging in preaching or something akin to it than does Raymond's Latin. The *Miracoli* describe Catherine in activities for her sisters and others which presume some degree of literacy: talking about God and paradise to the sisters in her community, or reading to them about the saints; teaching people about how to follow God's way, reading holy books, or receiving many visits from people seeking her teaching.[95] Reading aloud or privately goes hand in hand here with teaching and spiritual direction that approximate preaching.

Moreover, at least two *laude*, which are discussed in this volume by Eliana Corbari, show no hesitation in referring to Catherine as a preacher. Bianco of Siena warns Catherine about vanity in "Or ti guarda, suora mia":

> Be aware that the temptation
> of prophetic preaching does not
> put you into its prison;
> it'd be late when it releases you.[96]

Feo Belcari, in "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core," praises her for her effective sermons:[97]

> 3. She was another Saint Hilarion for her penance,
> another Saint Paul for her ardent charity.
> Through compassion, she gave
> great aid and fervent counsel to all people
> with many good works and sermons,

[95] *I Miracoli di Caterina di Iacopo da Siena di anonimo fiorentino*, ed. Francesco Valli, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici 4 (Milan, 1936), pp. 8–9, p. 9: "E ancora per tranquillare il tempo, mentre ch'ella è a mensa, per che le compagne abbino spazio di mangiare, si ragiona di Dio e del paradiso, o ella legge delle cose de' santi, però che tutte le cose ch'ella si mette in recando in uno, non farebbono quantità quanto una noce. Tutto l'altro tempo del dì, poi ch'è levata la mensa, ispende o in amaestrare genti di seguire la via di Dio, o in contemplare, e in stare rapita, come di sopra è detto, o in leggere libri santi. Ma il più suo tempo è quello della contemplazione, se ella fosse lasciata, però che è molta visitata per divozione di genti che la vogliono vedere, per pigliare assemplo e dottrina dallei."

[96] Bianco of Siena, "Or ti guarda, suora mia," in Bianco of Siena, *Laudi Spirituali*, ed. Telesforo Bini (Lucca, 1851): "Guarda che la tentatione / del prophetico sermone / non ti mecta in suo pregione: / tardi t'averà lassata!" vv. 53–56. See Eliana Corbari, "*Laude* for Catherine of Siena," in this volume.

[97] Feo Belcari [?], "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core." Feo Belcari, "Laude di Sancta Caterina da Siena," edited in Stefano Cremonini, "Per l'edizione delle laude di Feo Belcari" (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2006), pp. 416–18.

and also with the pen of a high-flying eagle,[98]
because she longed for the health of everyone.
She also went through Italy,
becoming a cure against every evil.[99]

The freer genre of the vernacular texts contrasts with the firm norms of Latin hagiography, particularly that which was written expressly for a canonization case.[100] The interwoven roles of language and genre, authorship and audience must be considered when analyzing the portrayal and definition of gender roles as they pertain to authoritative speech such as preaching.

Catherine's final speech act in the *Legenda* occurs on her deathbed. Raymond, who was in Genoa at the time of Catherine's death, reports the account from various witnesses. In his words, she called together her little "family," male and female, and "delivered a long memorable sermon to them, an exhortation to progress in virtue, in which she made certain noteworthy points."[101] The holy woman's death allows Raymond to describe her speech as a sermon as well as define that as an exhortation to advance in virtue. As the biographer reports the content of the holy woman's sermon, he uses various verbs to introduce her words: "as she said" (*ut dicebat*), "she also said" (*Item dixit*), "she asserted" (*asserens*), "she added" (*addens*), "she showed" (*ducebat*), "she taught" (*docendo*), and "she said very effectively" (*multum efficaciter dicebat*).[102] He sums up the preceding discourse with this comment: "after persuading them to these and other salutary things,

[98] Isa. 40:31.

[99] Feo Belcari, "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core," vv. 13–21: "Di penitentia un sancto Ilarione, / Di carità un san Paulo ardente, / a ogni gente per compassïone / dava aiuto et consiglio, alto et fervente; / con molte opere pie et col sermone, / e con la penna un'aquila excellente, / la salute d'ogniun sempre bramava, / et per l'Italia andava, / d'ogni gran mal essendo medicina." See Corbari, "*Laude* for Catherine of Siena," in this volume.

[100] On Catherine's use of the vernacular, see the chapter by Jane Tylus in this volume.

[101] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.4.360–63, pp. 334–37. My translation from Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.3.360.943D: "Beata virgo videns et intelligens, forsitan non absque revelatione expressa, horam sui exitus appropinquare; familiolam quæ fuerat eam secuta, filiorum scilicet et filiarum sibi a Domino concessorum, ad se vocavit. Quibus in generali loquendo, longum et notabilem fecit sermonem, exhortatorium ad profectum virtutum; in quo quædam notabilia expressit puncta, quæ scripta reperi per testes prædictos pariter et notata, nec dignum arbitror quod prætereantur a nobis."

[102] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.4.360–61, pp. 334–36; Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.3.360–61.943D–944C.

the holy woman concluded her sermon with the Savior's commandment, humbly and insistently asking them to love one another."[103] This persuasion to salutary things amounts to what Raymond himself calls twice a *sermo*. In neither case does *sermo* simply designate a word; Raymond uses it to describe first an exhortation to virtue and second a discourse that Catherine concluded.

As Catherine experiences excruciating torments and declares herself ready for death, Raymond narrates the final instructions that Catherine gave as well as her confession.[104] At one point, according to the witness, Catherine exclaimed: "Vainglory, no! But the true glory and praise of the Lord, yes!"[105] Raymond seizes the importance of these words to contest the criticism voiced by some that Catherine should have stayed in her cell if she wanted to serve God and should not have traveled, expressed as running about and *gyrovagando*—a word that appears in the Rule of Benedict (1.10) as a substantive to voice disapproval of gyrovagues, monks who travel uselessly.[106] Furthermore, the historical context of the term "gyrovague" echoes the notion of public activity implied in the word *muliercula*, but it moves the public acts to semantic space that is male or perhaps neutral. Even in the narration of Catherine's death, Raymond attempts to ward off any criticism of her public ministry that would undermine her canonization.

The "deathbed sermon" not only holds a place in hagiographic tradition, but the deathbed also appears as a complex site for a holy woman's speech in the life of Marie d'Oignies, who sings a sermon-like song on her deathbed.[107] Jacques de Vitry, Marie's biographer, was

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[103] See *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.4.362, p. 336. My translation of Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.3.362.944B: "Hæc et alia salubria persuadens eis virgo sacra, sermonem suum conclusit cum Salvatoris præcepto, humiliter et instanter eos rogando, quod dilectionem haberent ad invicem."

[104] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.4.363–65, pp. 337–38. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.3.363–65.944D–945B.

[105] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.4.365, p. 339. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.3.365.945A: "Vanam gloriam numquam, sed veram gloriam et laudem Domini utique."

[106] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 3.4.365, p. 339. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.3.365.945A: "Unde plures quandoque de ipsa loquentes, etiam mihi dixerunt: Ut quid ista gyrovagando discurrit? Mulier est. Quare non manet in cella, si vult Deo servire?" See *Rule of Benedict* 1.10.

[107] Carolyn Muessig, "Prophecy and Song. Teaching and Preaching by Medieval Women," *Women Preachers and Prophets*, eds. Kienzle and Walker, pp. 146–58, at pp. 150–51. On Catherine's deathbed utterances, see Scott, "Not Only With Words, but With Deeds," p. 132, who calls it her deathbed speech.

more cautious than Raymond of Capua to place his protagonist within the gender bounds of religious discourse. He emphasizes that Marie listens to sermons and even advises him on his preaching, but aside from the deathbed scene, she never utters a discourse that approximates a sermon. Following Marie's *vita*, attentive listening to sermons, whether within a convent or in public, emerges as a prerequisite for holiness in the biographies of medieval women saints.[108]

Hagiographers report that women in the Franciscan tradition had a quenchless thirst for sermons. Various sources report that St Clare of Assisi knew how to derive benefit for the soul from any sermon she heard. The 15th-century nun, Battista Alfani, mentions not only Clare's attentive listening but also her active recruitment of preachers for her community.[109] Rose of Viterbo reportedly frequented Franciscan sermons as a child and listened devoutly and purposefully.[110] In the Dominican tradition, Maria Sturion of Venice was reportedly an avid consumer of sermons; the Dominican friar Caffarini (d. 1434) insists on the role of his preaching in Maria's conversion and continuing holy behavior.[111] Additionally, Maria received "refreshment and joy" from hearing the word of God from Caffarini in conversation apart from

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[108] This seems to begin with Marie d'Oignies, whose life was popularized through Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and later translated into Italian. See also Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints*, p. 32. Romana Guarnieri argues for its influence on the *vita* of Clare of Montefalco (Romana Guarnieri, *Donne e chiesa, tra mistica e istituzioni* [Rome, 2004], pp. 81–103). Antonella degli'Innocenti is doubtful but does not discuss this at length in "Mistica e agiografia," in *Il Liber di Angela da Foligno e la mistica dei secoli XIII–XIV in rapporto alle nuove culture: atti del XLV Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 12–15 ottobre 2008* (Spoleto, 2009), pp. 355–83, at 360.

[109] *Legenda Latina Sanctae Clarae Virginis Assisiensis*, ed. Giovanni Boccali and trans. Marino Bigaroni, Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca Francescana, Chiesa Nuova, Assisi 11 (Perugia, 2001), Section 24, 'De studio libenter audiendi verbum sanctae praedicationis,' pp. 176, 178, 180. On the vernacular *vita* by Alfani, see Lezlie S. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi. Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*, The Medieval Franciscans 5 (Leiden, 2008), pp. 176, 180–82. For another example which indicates the importance of sermons for Clare, see *Santa Chiara d'Assisi sotto processo: lettura storico-teologica degli atti di canonizzazione*, ed. Giovanni Boccali (Porziuncola, 2003), Witness X (Agnese) v. 27.

[110] *S. Rosa da Viterbo, Terziaria Francescana (1233–1251). Fonti storiche della vita e loro revisione critica*, ed. Giuseppe Abate, Miscellanea francescana 52 (Roma, 1952), Vita II, cap. 4, p. 127: "In pupillari autem aetate coepit haec Virgo cum devota matre sua ad ecclesiam pergere, praedicationes autem Fratrum Minorum frequenter audire et verbum Dei cum intentione mentali devota percipere."

[111] The *vitae* of many penitent women including Giovanna of Orvieto, Osanna of Mantua, or Colomba of Rieti, depict them as providers of spiritual advice, but rarely as preachers, according to Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints*, pp. 110–19. Thomas of Siena (Caffarini), *The Legend of Maria of Venice*, trans. Daniel E. Bornstein, in

the sermon.[112] Maria Sturion's salutary reception of the word contrasts with Raymond's assertion that Catherine derived "refreshment" and was revived physically from her own speech, speaking of God or talking about God with appreciative listeners.[113]

Raymond of Capua grappled on various levels with Catherine's speech and her very public and well-known ministry. To do that semantically, he prefaces her apostolate with a careful progression of speech acts from childhood onward, gradually widening her audience. He then insists on three years of silence and seclusion and a mystical death before she undertakes her public ministry and speech. He uses graduating synonyms for the act of preaching, from giving words of edification and providing instruction to exhortation, until she is on her deathbed, when she delivers a "sermon" (*sermonem*) to her *famiglia*. After her death, Raymond reports that another friar proclaimed that she "preached" (*praedicavit*) herself and had no need of his sermon. Raymond controls the discourse of preaching as tightly as he does other aspects of Catherine's *vita*. His semantic maneuvers reveal much about the writing of hagiography when it dealt with questions of gender, authority, and preaching.

Dominican Penitent Women, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2005), pp. 117–18, 120–22, 123–24, 140–41.

[112] Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints*, pp. 110–19. Thomas of Siena (Caffarini), *Maria of Venice*, trans. Bornstein, in *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 117–18, 120–21, 123–24, 140–41.

[113] *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, 1.6.62, p. 57. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, 1.6.62, col. 868CD: "Porro tempore quo ipsam novi, omni dubio procul pulso, si habuisset intelligentes eet conferentes, centum diebus et totidem noctibus absque cibo et potu stetisset ad loquendum de Deo; nec unquam lassabatur in hoc, imo semper hilarior et recentior reddebatur. Revelavit mihi etiam sæpius quod nullum tantum habebat refrigerium in hac vita, quantum cum intelligentibus loqui de Deo sive conferre: quod et nos qui cum ea eramus, per experientiam videbamus. Aperte namque perpendebamus, quod quando habere poterat tempus loquendi de Deo, et differendi quæ suo latebant in corde; recentior, fortior et hilarior etiam corporaliter apparebat: cum vero hoc ei non licebat, debilis efficiebatur, et quasi exanimis."

CHAPTER SEVEN

MYSTICAL LITERACY: WRITING AND RELIGIOUS WOMEN IN LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY

Jane Tylus

> E según Plinio, non similis est conditio publicantis, et nominatim dicentis.
>
> [And according to Pliny, how different the condition of one who writes from that of one who merely speaks.]
>
> Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz,
> *La Respuesta a Sor Filotea*[1]

As recounted in the story of her life, the 15th-century Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani—more popularly known as Francesca Romana—was surprised one day by her confessor's offer of a diabolical gift: to teach her how to write. Solitary denizen of a cell where, following the death of her husband and family, Francesca prays, fasts, and flagellates herself, she has received from God a number of revelations which her confessor, who arrives with paper and pen in hand, first suggests he record himself. But then he goes on to say "that if he taught her to write, then she could herself make a great book of so many divine things."[2] "O wretched one," Francesca responds, "you are not my confessor, but the devil himself," to which he tempts her further:

> how can you speak so poorly of your confessor, considering that I am a minister of God, whose hands hold the holy sacrament? I have come to write down these great and wondrous things so that when you are dead, I will be able to preach and make known the marvelous things that God has given and revealed to you.

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[1] *Response to the Most Illustrious Poetess Sor Filotea de la Cruz*, in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poems, Protest, and a Dream: Selected Writings*, trans. Margaret Sayers Peden (New York, 1997), pp. 60–61.

[2] Giovanni Mattiotti, *Il dialetto romanesco del Quattrocento. Il manoscritto quattrocentesco di G. Mattiotti narra i tempi, i personaggi, le visioni di Santa Francesca Romana*, ed. Giorgio Carpaneto (Rome, 1995), pp. 230–31: "Anche li dise, che essa inzengnassi de scrivere, acio che ne potessi fare grande libro de tante cose divine."

Francesca persists in her refusal, claiming that the devil is as prideful on earth as he was in heaven. Even his transformation into a horrible beast cannot make her change her opinion that writing would bring with it nothing but vainglory.[3]

Whence this reaction—not just against the promise of literacy but against any attempt to "make known" Francesca's revelations through writing? And how might we understand it when set against an episode some four decades earlier involving Catherine of Siena? Left unaccountably without her scribes one evening in the autumn of 1376 in the Val d'Orcia where she has been residing, Catherine receives a vision from God so powerful that she feels she will die if she cannot have it written down—a desperate situation from which God rescues her by teaching her to write himself.[4] The circumstances of Catherine's "writing lesson" are well known, but her account bears repeating, particularly in light of Francesca's adamant refusal. As Catherine writes her own confessor and future hagiographer Raymond of Capua, who at the time was in Rome,

> This letter and another I already sent you I wrote in my own hand on the Isola della Rocca, filled with so many sighs and tears that even when seeing, I couldn't see. But I was full of wonder at myself and at God's goodness when I considered his mercy toward those of his creatures he has endowed with reason and his overflowing providence toward me that provided me refreshment in the aptitude for writing, a consolation I've never known thanks to my ignorance—so that when I descended from the heights I might have a little something with which I could vent my heart, lest it burst. Not yet wanting to take me away from this life of shadows, he fixed this aptitude[5] in my mind in a marvelous manner, the way a teacher does when he gives his [male] pupil a model. As soon as you [God] had departed from me, with the glorious evangelist John and Thomas Aquinas, I began learning while still asleep. Forgive me for

[3] For further reflections on Francesca Romana, see Guy Boanas and Lyndal Roper, "Feminine Piety in 15th-century Rome: Santa Francesca Romana," in *Disciplines of Faith. Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy*, eds. Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper, and Raphael Samuel (London, 1987), pp. 177–93.

[4] The vision will go on to form the kernel of her *Dialogo della divina Provvidenzia,* composed at the Val d'Orcia over at least the next several months, and to which Catherine referred simply as her *Libro*.

[5] Or formed it; the Caffarini manuscript used by Gigli and has "formò"; see Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.2, fol. 110r.

> so much writing, since my hands and my tongue seek to be in harmony with my heart.[6]

Following this visit by several impressive teachers, Catherine seems little bothered by the scruples that dominated Francesca's response. And yet this dramatic scene has had a troublesome history. The recipient of the letter, Raymond, never mentions this event in his massive *Legenda maior*. When he does address the issue of her literacy, he says only that God taught her how to read: "Thus through her prayers did she learn miraculously how to read."[7] Catherine's second hagiographer, the Sienese Tommaso Caffarini, insisted instead on the saint's full literacy, subtly inserting into Raymond's sentence the phrase "tam legere quam scribere"—"she learned how to read as well as to write"—in his abridgment of the *Legenda maior*, the *Legenda minor*.[8] The fact that Caffarini oversaw a scriptorium in Venice that produced copies of Catherine's epistolary output prompted at least one scholar, Robert Fawtier, to

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[6] All citations of Catherine's letters, prayers, and *Libro* (i.e., the *Dialogo*) are from the CD-Rom edition of *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Fausto Sbaffoni (Pistoia, 2002) unless otherwise noted. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Letter 272, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Antonio Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, Sbaffoni, pp. 538–39: "Questa lettera, e un'altra che io ve ne mandai, ò scritte di mia mano in su l'Isola della Rocca, con molti sospiri e abondanzia di lagrime; in tanto che l'occhio, vedendo, non vedeva; ma piena di amirazione ero di me medesima, e de la bontà di Dio—considerando la sua misericordia verso le sue creature che ànno in loro ragione—, e de la sua providenzia; la quale abondava verso di me, che per refrigerio, essendo privata de la consolazione—la quale per mia ignoranzia io non cognobbi—m'aveva dato e proveduto col darmi l'attitudine dello scrivere, a ciò che, discendendo da l'altezza, avessi un poco con che sfogare el cuore, perché non scoppiasse. Non volendomi trare ancora di questa tenebrosa vita; per amirabile modo me la formò [fermò] nella mente mia, sì come fa el maestro al fanciullo, che gli dà l'essemplo. Unde, subbito che fuste partito da me, col glorioso evangelista e Tomaso d'Aquino così dormendo cominciai a imparare. Perdonatemi del troppo scrivere, però che le mani e la lingua s'accordano col cuore."

[7] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B, I.7.113.881C/D (hereafter *Legenda maior*; see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*): "Antequam de oratione surgeret, ita divinitus est edocta quod…omnem scivit litteram legere." Raymond's Catherine has learned to read in Latin. We know from *I Miracoli di Caterina da Iacopo da Siena di anonimo fiorentino*, composed when Catherine was still alive, that she could also read Italian: hence we see her reading out loud "cose de' santi padri" to her *mantellate* while they ate; the text is in Robert Fawtier, *Saint Catherine de Sienne: Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 1, *Sources hagiographiques* (Paris, 1921), p. 223.

[8] Caffarini, *Legenda minor* I.xi, quoted in Robert Fawtier, *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources,* vol. 2, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne* (Paris, 1930), p. 7.

suggest that Caffarini himself composed this "coda" to Catherine's letter from the Val d'Orcia after her death and inserted it into subsequent manuscript copies. Thus Caffarini becomes even more diabolical than Francesca's devil, enlisting Catherine's complicity in his own project to disseminate her words.[9]

Scholarship has still not settled on an answer to the question as to whether Catherine could write (although there is general consensus, *pace* Fawtier, that the paragraph cited above is authentic). Nor has it asked a more important question, one that emerges when pondering women like Francesca who rejected writing as a demonic incursion into their quiet and submissive lives: how to account for Catherine's fascination with the transmission of her words—and at times with the possibility of producing texts by her own hand in the vernacular? What difference did literacy make to Catherine and her female contemporaries? Is it possible that Francesca's refusal defines the terrain of female mysticism that Adriano Prosperi has recently described as one characterized by an absence of "familiarity between women and writing, and that [Italian women] mystics seem uninterested in the fate of their words"?[10] And if so, where then would we place Catherine?[11]

The "disinterest" noted by Prosperi is on the one hand belied by the flurry of devotional materials in the vernacular which Katherine Gill's pioneering work has brought to our attention: dozens of treatises in Italian circulated in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, thanks largely to Dominicans who often directed them to laywomen.[12] On the

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[9] Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 7.

[10] Prosperi takes his cue not only from Catherine also but from a number of other women after her, such as Maria Maddelena de' Pazzi, the prodigious contemplative from a 16th-century aristocratic Florentine family, who protested the transcription of her visions by her sisters in the convent; "Spiritual Letters," in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), p. 114.

[11] My recent *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Literature, and the Signs of Others* (Chicago, 2009) is an extended discussion of Catherine's preoccupation with orality and writing; the middle section of this chapter draws on material in chaps. 3, 4, and 5 of the book. A recent collection of essays—*Dire l'ineffabile: Caterina da Siena e il linguaggio della mistica. Atti del Convegno Siena 13 e 14 novembre 2003*, eds. Lino Leonardi and Pietro Trifone, La mistica cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente 5 (Florence, 2006)—was the first attempt to examine critically Catherine's participation in the activities of the scribes who worked with her for a period of six or seven years, roughly from 1373 until her death in 1380.

[12] Katherine Gill, "Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, eds. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 64–104.

other hand, with respect to medieval women's ability to write or what Margaret Ferguson calls "full literacy," mystics such as Catherine need to be considered within the larger framework of manuscript production within convents, as well as a newly burgeoning mercantile economy which afforded new opportunities and needs for women to write.[13] Writing as a labor ordained by one's superior and performed as an act of obedience had long been central to many women's religious communities, particularly among the Dominicans, as Jeffrey Hamburger's work has convincingly shown.[14] In these contexts, the act of writing was generally considered to be a mechanical, laborious process, secondary to that of composition—"rumination, cogitation, a listening and a dialogue, a gathering (*collectio*) of voices from their several places in memory"[15]—which generated an "original" text.[16] Women's centrality in the transmission of texts would continue into the era of publishing. One of the first printing presses in Italy was established at the convent of San Jacopo a Ripoli in 1472 (which, not incidentally, printed Raymond's *Legenda maior* as one of its first books) and another was established at the convent of Corpus Domini in Bologna, where the works of Caterina Vegri (Saint Catherine of Bologna) were first published. But when one no longer copied others' texts within these carefully circumscribed communities but generated or composed one's own—as would be the case with Caterina Vegri herself, or Teresa of

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[13] Margaret Ferguson, *Dido's Daughters. Literacy, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France* (Chicago, 2003). See also Luisa Miglio's *Governare l'alfabeto: Donne, scrittura e libri nel Medioevo* (Rome, 2008) for a discussion of female literacy in 15th-century Italy.

[14] Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven, 1990).

[15] Ibid., p. 198.

[16] See Petrarch's distinction between mere "laborers" and inspired creators. "There are those," he declares, "who stretch the parchment, those who copy books (*alii libros scribunt*), those who correct pages, those who, to use a vulgar expression, illustrate texts (*illuminant*), those who bind and design the cover." "But," he goes on, "the generous spirit (*generosum ingenium*) aspires to higher things, spurning these humble tasks" (*Familiares* XVIII, 5, 5). As Carol Quillen has pointed out, these lines are in themselves an echo of Bonaventure's earlier four-fold distinctions among the various ways of making a book, moving from the lowly *scriptor* who merely "writes down others' works, adding or changing nothing" to the *auctor* who "writes both his own works and those of others, but in such a way that his own are in principal place and the others are added for the sake of confirmation" (note that the author also is said to "write": "aliquis scribit et sua et aliena…et talis debet dici auctor"). Carol E. Quillen, *Rereading the Renaissance: Petrarch, Augustine, and the Language of Humanism* (Ann Arbor, 1998), p. 71. [The above quote from Petrarch's *Familiares* is cited in Quillen, p. 71.]

Avila, or Maria Domitilla Galluzzi—the dynamics necessarily became very different. And women producing devotional texts *outside* such communities offered a completely different model altogether from the convent, where the act of writing typically originated in a command to be obeyed.[17] The fact that Catherine's own relationship to textuality is still such a vexed issue in the historical and hagiographic literature is itself a sign of the unease now, as then, over acts of women's writing in contexts that could not be carefully controlled. Such unease made the relationship between women and writing a problematic one, but one should not infer from it that Catherine or her contemporaries had no interest in the fate of their words—particularly at a moment in which literacy rates were extraordinarily high, especially in northern and central Italy.[18]

There is no question that Catherine's reputation derived largely from her strategic uses of her voice in prayer, exhortation, and exegesis. Nor is there any question that the majority of Catherine's almost 400 letters, prayers, and pages of the *Dialogo* come down to us from the energetic activities of her scribes, many of whom were Sienese women, as we know from both hagiographers as well as some of the scribes themselves.[19] Yet, unlike Francesca Romana, she cared deeply about the act of writing and its relationship to her spoken vernacular word, a preoccupation expressed in far more letters than the one Fawtier declared inauthentic. To this extent, her peers are not Margery Kempe, the English brewer whose pilgrimage to Rome and religious ecstasies prompted her to seek out a series of three scribes to record the story of her life, or Catherine's Italian compatriot Angela of Foligno, whose mystical revelations were recorded by priests in Latin rather than in her native Umbrian dialect. Rather, she should be considered alongside the *beguines* Mechthild of Magdeburg, one of the first to compose in a

[17] That Catherine was well aware of these dynamics is evident from Chapter 165 of her *Dialogo*, where God tells her about a monk who, in the midst of drawing the letter O in the document he is transcribing, is called by his superior to fulfill an even higher act of obedience.

[18] See Dino Balestracci, *Cilastro che sapeva leggere: Alfabetazzazione e istruzione nelle campagne toscane alla fine del Medioevo (XIV–XV secoli)* (Pisa, 2004); and Robert Black, "Education and Emergence of a Literate Society," in *Italy and the Age of the Renaissance: 1300–1550*, ed. John Najemy (Oxford, 2006), pp. 18–36.

[19] On the relationship between medieval women and their scribes, see the interesting if uneven work by Kimberley M. Benedict, *Empowering Collaborations: Writing Partnerships between Religious Women and Scribes in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2004).

vernacular German tongue, and Hadewijch of Brabant, one of the first to write in Dutch, as well as Birgitta of Sweden, who wrote sections of her enormous *Liber* or *Book of Revelations* in her native Swedish and in her own hand.[20] Once seen alongside these women, Catherine's role in articulating the dynamic between orality and literacy at a moment when Italy was becoming one of the most literate countries in Europe can be better understood.

But this can only be determined by ascertaining where Catherine sought to position *herself* with respect to the parameters of late medieval literacy. That in turn can tell us a great deal about how one exceptional woman conceptualized her gender, the Dominican Order she chose to join as a *mantellata* or penitent, the political mission she embraced of returning a French pope to Italian soil, and her highly personal version of *imitatio Christi*. The following remarks will reflect on how Catherine straddled oral and literate cultures, as she at once championed the force of the spoken word and sought to extend—and alter—the ephemeral moment of orality, when the word, once "it leaves the mouth, is no more."[21]

Against all modern critical suppositions about women's place in late medieval society, Catherine was an overwhelmingly public figure, engaged in charitable acts throughout her city that took her from the marginalized and largely hidden world of the *mantellate* into the highly visible one of Siena's political and religious leaders. As the lives of Catherine and contemporary historical accounts attest, Catherine acquired her reputation largely because of her physical and public presence in abbeys, convents, churches, hospitals, piazzas, and council rooms, where she is said, on various occasions, to have preached, sermonized, prophesied, prayed, admonished, and taught. All of these verbs can be found in hagiographical accounts and the numerous documents collected during her canonization process.[22] While woman's

[20] For a bracing account of the rise of vernacular theology and its importance for shaping new national languages and literatures, see Sara S. Poor, *Mechthild of Magdeburg and Her Book* (Philadelphia, 2004).

[21] *Libro* [i.e., *Dialogo*], in *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, ch. 11, p. 13: "la quale escita che è fuore della bocca non è più."

[22] In addition to the above-mentioned works by Raymond and Caffarini, see *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942); and Caffarini's *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974). For accounts of Catherine's life, Eugenio Dupré Theseider's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli*

public presence and public speaking were strictly curtailed in the second half of the Trecento—the moment of an emergent humanism in Florence and at the papal curia—Catherine defied such limitations as found in ecclesiastical documents that look back to Paul's refusal to permit women to speak in the churches of Asia Minor.[23]

Yet, on occasions such as the meeting of Catherine in Rome with the newly elected Pope Urban VI, it is Catherine's *bocca*, her mouth, that is praised as the font of a wisdom greater than she herself can possibly contain. Or, from a vernacular paraphrase of one of the Latin lives of the saint: "God blessed her with an erudite tongue, and her fiery words penetrated the most hardened heart…All [with Urban VI] were seized with wonder upon hearing the marvelous wisdom that flowed from the mouth of this holy virgin."[24] A mid-15th-century German codex depicts her at a lectern, book open before her, preaching to a group of monks from the Certosa on the island of Gorgogna.[25] Wonder seizes listeners in the villages outside Siena, who, according to her hagiographer Raymond of Capua, come "as if rallied by the sound of an unseen trumpet" "just to see her and hear her. And when they heard her…their hearts were pierced by sorrow for their evil deeds."[26] Raymond also writes that as soon as Catherine began talking to the brazen rioters who participated in the revolt of the Florentine wool-workers,

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italiani, 22 (Rome, 1979), pp. 361–79, is extremely useful; a more prolix version can be found in Edmund Gardner, *St Catherine of Siena: A Study in the Religion, Literature, and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy* (London, 1907).

[23] See, for example, Humbert of Romans' restrictions against women, in his *Treatise on the Formation of Preachers*, in *Early Dominicans. Selected Writings*, ed. Simon Tugwell (New York, 1982), pp. 330–32. On women preachers in the history of Christianity, see *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley, 1998); and Kienzle, "Sermons and Preaching," in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York, 2006), pp. 736–40. See also Beverly Kienzle, "Catherine of Siena, Preaching, and Hagiography in Renaissance Tuscany" in the present volume.

[24] From the 1514 edition of Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*, which borrows extensively from Raymond and other sources, *Legendario deli sancti volgar historiado con molte azonte novamente stampado* (Venice, 1514), fol. 100: "Li avea dato idio benedecto una lingua erudite: parole affocate e ignite che passavano ogni core duro…[Tutti erano presi da] uno stupore dela mirabile sapientia che procedeva de la bocha de questa sancta virgine."

[25] Noted by Diega Giunta in "La dimensione dottrinale nella raffigurazione di Santa Caterina da Siena," in Giuliana Cavallini and Angela Adriana Cavarra, eds, *Catharina. Testi ed immagini di S. Catarina di Siena nelle raccolte casanatensi* [exhibition catalog] (Milan, 1998), p. 43.

[26] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, trans. Conleth Kearns (Wilmington, Del., 1980), par. 239, p. 237.

they became "so deprived of energy, that they were unable to strike Catherine, let alone remain in her presence."[27] The testimonies collected in the *Processo Castellano* in early 15th-century Venice speak of Catherine's "graceful speech" (*locutione gratissima*),[28] praise her efficacious words (*efficacie verbi ipsius virginus*), call her a prophet,[29] stress her ongoing conversation with Christ (*confabulatione cum Christo*),[30] and praise her ability to quiet discord in Siena.[31]

The problem, of course, is that to vouch for such effects from Catherine's words we have only others' words, many of them intent on her canonization. But Catherine also referred to her mission as one dependent on voice. One of her favorite models is the Apostle Paul, not as a writer of epistles but as a "banditore," a herald or town crier.[32] In Letter 218, she invites Gregory XI to imitate Paul, "that sweet herald" who convinces others to become helpers and bearers of God's name[33] and writes to Raymond that Paul "manfully heralds the truth…he was made a vessel of delight, full of fire to carry forth and preach the word of God."[34] The Dominicans, the preaching order to which Catherine peripherally belongs, are said to be the "banditori" of Scripture,[35] in keeping with the Dominicans' own embrace of the Bible as "an oral text proclaimed and preached in church."[36] Catherine has the apostles leaving their house after Christ's resurrection to go out and fearlessly

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[27] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, trans. Kearns, par. 427, p. 386.

[28] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 355.

[29] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 381.

[30] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 294.

[31] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 390.

[32] A fleeting reference to Paul as "a-grammatikon," or unlettered, has led some scholars to suggest that he could not write Greek—and his own choice to write epistles links him to the oral and charismatic nature of Christ's ministry; see the seminal work of Walter Ong, particularly "Text as Interpretation. Mark and After," *Semeia* 39 (1969), 7–26; and J. Dewey, "Textuality in an Oral Culture. A Survey of the Pauline Traditions," *Semeia* 65 (1995), 37–65.

[33] Letter 218, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 427. "Aiutatori e portatori del nome di Dio."

[34] Letter 226, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 446. "Bandisce virilmente la veritá…è fatto vasello di dilezione, pieno di fuoco, a portare, e a predicare la parola di Dio."

[35] *Libro*, [i.e., *Dialogo*], in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, ch. 100, p. 129.

[36] See Karen Scott, "*Io Caterina*, Ecclesiastical Politics and Oral Culture in the Letters of Catherine of Siena," in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary*

"spread [God's] words, preaching the doctrine of the Word"[37]—an allusion not only to the orality of the early Christian community but also to the Dominican preachers who played such a prominent part in Catherine's formation.

The effect of many of Catherine's letters, moreover, is a highly oral one: they do far more, that is, than simply *privilege* metaphors of orality in relationship to Catherine's biblical and Dominican precursors. Perhaps because of Catherine's awareness that they would frequently be read aloud, as well as her exposure to at least one disciple familiar with the *ars dictaminis*, or art of letter writing—Cristofano di Gano Guidini was a notary—they represent a voice at work, eager to express often in the opening sentence a forceful statement of "desiderio" or will. She writes to Raymond "with the desire of seeing you become a most true warrior against evil";[38] to the wife of one Misser Ciccolo Caracciolo of Napoli "with the desire to see you place your desire and your hope only in God";[39] to the elders and consuls of Bologna "with the desire to see you take off the old man and garb yourself in the new man";[40] and to three Italian cardinals who have supported the anti-pope Clement VII's claims to the papal mantle "with the desire to see you turned to the true and perfect light, leaving behind the many shadows and blindness into which you have fallen."[41] The controlling "I" of the opening exhortation rarely is absent from the rest of the letter, which as in a 1375 epistle to the mercenary Bartolomeo della Pace, expresses itself immediately as the subject of reflections and

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Genre, eds. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 87–121, at p. 100.

[37] *Libro*, [i.e., *Dialogo*], in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, ch. 74, p. 69: "Uscirono fuori di casa…ad annunzia[are] la mia parola, predicando la dottrina del Verbo."

[38] Letter 267, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 524: "con desiderio di vedervi vero combattitore contra le molestie e insidie del demonio."

[39] Letter 352, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 712: "con desiderio di vedervi ponere l'affetto e la speranza vostra solamente in Dio."

[40] Letter 268, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni p. 527: "con desiderio di vedervi spogliati de l'uomo vecchio e vestiti de l'uomo nuovo."

[41] Letter 310, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 607: "con desiderio di vedervi tornati a vero e perfettissimo lume, e uscire di tanta tenebre e cechità nella quale sete caduti."

considerations on what is pleasing and not pleasing to God. Having told Bartolomeo that her "desiderio" for him is that he become a fearless and "virile knight," she says, "It doesn't seem to me [*Non mi pare*] that man has any reason to fear, because God has made him strong against every adversary." She then follows with a series of rhetorical questions and answers: What can the demon do against us? He is made infirm, through the power of God's son. What can the flesh do to us? The soul that gazes only on its creator, God and man, can quickly stifle every carnal and sensual flicker. What can the world do?—and so forth.[42] The rise and fall of questions, answers, commands, and requests to be forgiven for having been too commanding—"excuse my ignorance"—is matched by the poetic quality of the Italian and the kind of repetitiveness that has been noted of the letters of Paul.[43] We have numerous examples, possibly left intact, possibly changed, of chiasmus: *Non aspettate il tempo, che' il tempo non aspetta voi* [Don't wait for time, for time doesn't wait for you];[44] alliteration: *Attaccatevi all'arbore della vita* [Attach yourselves to the tree of life];[45] repetition of words with slight modulations: *E ci conviene armare coll'arme della*

[42] Letter 374, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 766: "Non mi pare che l'uomo abbi cagione di temere, però che Dio l'à fatto forte contra ogni aversario."

[43] Letter 374, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 766: "perdonate alla mia ignoranzia." At times, these qualities are edited out in manuscript copies. Thus in one of the original five letters found in the manuscript Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.III.3, fol. 2r (Letter 329), we have a phrase that is excised in later collections precisely because of its repetitiveness. The original passage "Ché in questa santa terra, in la quale Dio manifestava la dignità sua, chiamandolo il suo giardino al quale giardino chiamava i suoi servi dicendo…" [Because in this holy land in which God manifests his dignity, calling it his garden, into which garden he calls his servants, saying…] repeats "giardino" twice, once in an accusative phrase, secondly in the dative; the copies will omit the second one, "al quale giardino." This is a minor omission of what was no doubt seen as syntactical redundancy. Yet, in streamlining the phrase, the scribe leaves out Catherine's lilting repetition and the chiasmus she created with the terms *chiamare* or *call*, and *giardino*. Whereas in the original the servants of God are called *into* the garden, in the copy they are simply "called."

[44] Letter 310, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 610.

[45] Letter 355, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 722.

fortezza [And we must now arm ourselves with the arms of strength];[46] or plays on words that are aurally similar, as in this last passage, the perfect weapon or *arme* becomes *amore*; and extensive rhyme that takes advantage of the rhyming inherent in the Italian vernacular: *Godete, dunque, ed esultate e perseverate infino alla morte* [So take delight, and exalt and persevere until death].[47]

It is no accident that in his influential study Giovanni Getto called her an orator.[48] In contemporary works about Catherine, her letters are mentioned in the same breath as her oratory. Thus the "Vita" of Catherine in a vernacularized early 16th-century edition of Jacopo da Varazze's *Golden Legend* claims that she procured the salvation of some of Siena's most violent nobles "with prayer, with ardent exhortations, with letters, with miracles, with revelations of secret things and most hidden sins"[49]—apparently attesting to the extent to which her epistles were seen as transparent vehicles for her voice. Yet, can one really argue that Catherine's written words are merely the transcripts of conversations, or suggest with Karen Scott that "writing for her was simply a form of speaking"?[50] To be sure, there are many instances where she treats writing and speaking as synonymous, as she uses "I'm not going to tell you anything else" (*altro non vi dico*) and "I'm not going to write you anything else" (*altro non vi scrivo di più*) almost interchangeably. And yet, despite this apparent overlapping of terms—still a feature of our own letters today—a number of Catherine's epistles reflect her awareness of the dynamics of presence and absence that necessitate the letter, and an absence that is not always to be devalued, despite her occasional impatience with her distance from her epistles' recipients.[51]

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[46] Letter 169, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 323.

[47] Letter 335, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 668, and so forth.

[48] Giovanni Getto, *Letteratura religiosa del trecento* (Florence, 1967), p. 137.

[49] Jacopo da Varazze, *Legendario deli sancti volgar historiado*, fol. 100v: "con oratione, con ardentissime exhortatione, con epistole, con miracoli, con revellationi di cose secrete e peccati occultissimi."

[50] Scott, "*Io Caterina*," p. 109.

[51] Letter 218, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni p. 428. Thus, as she writes to Pope Gregory XI in the final stages of her negotiations to have him return to Rome, "I would rather talk to you face to face than write to

Thus in Letter 164 to Melina Barbani, wife of an important Lucchese nobleman whom Catherine came to know when she stayed in Lucca in 1376, Catherine specifically addresses herself to the "pain that I know that you felt at my departure," a pain she warns Melina to disregard.

> Don't you know that the holy disciples had greater awareness and knowledge of their teacher after he left them than before? They took such delight in his humanity that they didn't search beyond it. But as soon as his presence was withdrawn from them, they came to know and understand his goodness.[52]

The presence of Catherine, or of Christ, that is, can be a distracting medium; like the assumed Christ who had to leave his disciples, Catherine has had to leave Lucca. Yet, her departure can only help the condition of Melina's soul: "In fact, it was necessary for me to leave you, so that you could begin to seek God in truth and not through some intermediary." Now left without the teacher and powerful oral presence of Catherine, Melina and her bereft companions in Lucca should "enter into yourselves to ponder the words and teachings you have been given";[53] only then, will they be closer to God than before. As though to accentuate the necessity of her departure, Catherine closes her letter with the abrupt "I can't write anymore because I have no more time to write."[54] Only Catherine's, and Christ's, disappearance will allow Monna Melina a space for reflection, for the retreat into herself to reflect on "the words and teachings" now contained within Catherine's letter.

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you (Più tosto vel direi a bocca che per scrittura) because then I could fully vent what I hold within my heart. Now I can do no more…and because sometimes we can't always write what we'd like to, if you want to send me something that's secret, do so by talking discreetly to my messenger Neri [di Landoccio Pagliaresi], for you can do so with confidence."

[52] Letter 164, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 313: "Non sapete voi ch'e' discepoli santi ebbero più, doppo la partita del maestro, sentimento e cognoscimento di lui che prima? Però che tanto si dilettavano de l'umanità che non cercavano più oltre. Ma poi che la presenzia si fu partita, elli se dêro a intendare e cognosciare la bontà sua."

[53] Letter 164, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 313: "…intrando dentro da voi a pensare le parole e la dottrina."

[54] Letter 164, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 313: "None scrivo più perche io non ò più tempo a scrivere."

The intertwined process of reading and writing here and elsewhere becomes the means to create an interior space (*dentro da voi*), in order to prompt a process of understanding and thought that Catherine's and Christ's physical presence preclude. Brian Stock's recent comments on the emergence of the "ascetic reader" during late antiquity and the medieval period seem apt for Catherine's own attentiveness to Monna Melina's spiritual journey through reading and contemplation; "the new awareness of textual culture [after the 11th century] and the reader's attention to text subjectively oriented thinking about the self."[55] There are numerous indications that Catherine was aware of the material form of the letter that inspired such thinking about the self, the parchment that would have been sent, folded over several times and sealed, to disciples, to kings and queens, to popes, councilors, mercenaries, and, on one occasion, a Sienese Jew whom Catherine was hoping to convert. To cite but two examples, she says in one late letter to Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, that the best way to serve one's neighbor is to offer him "cibo" or food—the food represented by the letter itself.[56] And writing to two of her *mantellate* when she was at the Val d'Orcia composing her *Libro* and they were complaining of her absence, she said they must learn to grow up and become used to eating hard crusty bread or "pane muffato" rather than breast milk—again, the very "bread" that her letters carry with them.[57] Only in this fashion can her disciples learn to create for themselves what Catherine will increasingly call the "cell of self-knowledge" (*cella del vero cognoscimento di te*), partially enabled by the experience of reading her letters.[58] While Catherine speaks of this "cella" or "casa" of self-knowledge to a number of correspondents, male and female, it is perhaps nowhere more intimately probed and explained than in a series of intensely confessional letters Catherine wrote to the Dominican *mantellata* Daniella da Orvieto in the last 18 months of her life—as

[55] Brian Stock, *Ethics through Literature. Ascetic and Aesthetic Reading in Western Culture* (Hanover, 2007), p. 71.

[56] Letter 375, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 727.

[57] Letter 118, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 232.

[58] We find allusions to this cell or house (*casa*) in many letters after 1377, i.e., in letters 49 and 53, both to Agnese Malavolti; Suzanne Noffke notes the frequency of the reference in *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, 4 vols (Tempe, 2000–08), 2:577.

though Catherine were passing on to another Dominican woman the role that she herself had played as a thoughtful and inspiring writer.[59]

When it comes to the act that created those letters, however, and for the deeper Christological sense that Catherine attached to writing, one need look no further than the memorable opening of so many of her epistles after 1376: "I write to you in God's precious blood" (*vi scrivo nel prezioso sangue suo*), as the blood Jesus shed on the cross becomes the ink with which she writes. One of the most obvious scriptural references for this persistent trope is 2 Corinthians 3:3—perhaps Paul's most blatant references to the act of writing and, indeed, a moment where he would appear to devalue writing in favor of speech and presence: "Clearly you are an epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink *but by the Spirit of God*, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of flesh, that is, of the heart." Twice Catherine makes a clear reference to the passage. Yet, while Paul opposes *ink* and *spirit* or writing and orality, Catherine changes *pneuma* to *blood*; the blood of Christ, thereby refusing to oppose the ethereal (and "superior") spirit or breath and the material substance.

Thus, as she writes to Suor Daniella, with whom she established such a close epistolary relationship towards the end of her life, Christ, who is Eternal Truth,

> wrote [the way and the rule] on his own body, not with ink but with his blood, with letters so large that no one is of such low intelligence that he is excused from reading them. You can clearly see the rubrics (*capoversi*) of this book, they are so large, and they all demonstrate the ineffable love with which we were created.[60]

She uses a similar phrase to Giovanni da Parma in Rome, who has read and been disturbed by a book, possibly by Raymond Lull, that others have condemned:

> God has given us a written book, I mean the Word, God's Son, written on the wood of the cross not with ink but with blood. And its *capoversi*

[59] One can only lament the absence of Daniella's letters in response. For a consideration of several of these texts, see Chapter 5 in my *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, especially pp. 220–26.

[60] Letter 316, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 629: "Perché questa è la vita e la regola che t'à data la Verità eterna; e scrissela nel corpo suo con lettere sì grosse, che veruno è di sì basso intendimento che si possa scusare: non con oncostro, ma col sangue suo. Bene vedi tu e' capoversi di questo libro, quanto essi sonno grand; e tutti ti manifestano la verità del Padre eterno."

> are Christ's wonderful, sacred wounds. Who is not so simple and dense, so dull-witted, as not to know how to read these chapters?[61]

Catherine then launches into an account as to how this book is written: his feet are one chapter, his open side another, his hands, "where we will read and continue to read," a third. To Sano di Maco, a Sienese wool master to whom Catherine frequently wrote in order to reach her community of lay disciples in Siena when she was away, she explains how one should read the doctrine that is written on Christ's body. At the time of his death, Jesus climbed into the "cattedra della croce," or the pulpit of the cross, and from there he taught us what we need to know, as the words of the professor quickly become "a book, with its *capoversi* so large that there is not a man so illiterate (*idiota*) that he can know clearly and perfectly read it."[62] Far from moving Catherine to articulate an opposition between ink and breath, or between the epistle that is the letter and the epistle that is the heart, the Pauline passage prompts her to think about the congruency between body and book: Jesus is, quite simply, the "written book" on whom *capoversi* are inscribed so that even the dullest can read them.

Catherine's allusion to *capoversi* indicates keen familiarity with the tradition of medieval manuscripts in which the first letter of a chapter or text would be enlarged, often illustrated with, in fact, a body, perhaps that of Christ himself or of one of the saints. Writing on and from the body represents the act that Christ enabled through his Crucifixion—the very Crucifixion that furnishes Catherine with the precious ink

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[61] Letter 309, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 604: "E àcci dato el libro scritto, cioè el Verbo dolce del Figliuolo di Dio, il quale fu scritto in sul legno de la Croce, non con incostro, ma con sangue, co' capoversi delle dolcissime e sacratissime piaghe di Cristo. E quale sarà quello idiota grosso, e di sì basso intendimento che non le sappi lègiare?" Nothing is known about Giovanni da Parma, including whether or not he was the same Giovanni da Parma to whom Petrarch also wrote. What is clear is that Giovanni has apparently read and been disturbed by a book that the annotator of Girolamo Gigli's 18th-century edition of Catherine's letters, Federigo Burlamacchi, suspects may have been by Raymond Lull, whose early writings expressed tolerance for the differences in Judaism and Islam: Catherine of Siena, *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Girolamo Gigli, 4 vols (Siena, Lucca), 3:479–84, Letter 299. Burlamacchi's annotation is found on pp. 483–84.

[62] Letter 318, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 635: "Uno libro, co' capoversi sì grossi che non è uomo tanto idioto, né di sì poco vedere, che non ci possa largamente e perfettamente leggere."

with which she claims to write her epistles, grounding her letters within a scriptural tradition in more than one sense. That Christ is also the *agnello* suggests a sacrificial dimension to the act of writing, as lamb becomes the lambskin of the page—an appropriate metaphor to use for someone like Sano, as Suzanne Noffke has suggested, who dealt in the wool trade.[63] In some of her final letters, as we will see, Catherine vividly associates the act of using the "pen" (*penna*) with physical suffering or pains (*pene*). But she also invokes in her *Dialogo* a more immediate example of bloodletting and sacrifice, within the Dominican fold: the murder of the early Dominican martyr Peter of Verona in a forest outside Milan, possibly by heretics to whom he had ministered. As Catherine recounts toward the end of her *Dialogo*:

> Consider Peter, virgin and martyr, who with his blood threw light into the shadows of heresy, and he hated it so much that he was prepared to sacrifice right there his very life. As long as he lived, he exercised himself in praying, preaching, disputing with and confessing heretics, announcing the truth, and spreading the faith without fear. Such that not only did he confess this faith during his life, but up until the very end of that life. On the verge of death, after he received that fatal blow, without voice to speak or ink to write, he dipped his finger in his own blood. The glorious martyr has no paper, and yet he kneels down and writes in the dirt as a confession of his faith, "I believe in One God."[64]

Blood furnishes not only "lume" or light but also ink: it replaces the words that Peter had spoken throughout his lifetime when he is left without his voice. Murdered by the community to which he had been sent to preach and to whom he could preach no longer, Peter spends

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[63] Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:64.

[64] *Libro* [i.e., *Dialogo*], in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, ch. 158, p. 193: "Raguardami Pietro vergine e martire che col suo sangue dié lume nelle tenebre delle molte eresie; le quali egli tanto ebbe in odio, che se ne dispose a lassarvi la vita. E mentre che visse, l'esercizio suo non era altro che orare, predicare, disputare con gli eretici e confessare, annunziando la verità, e dilatando la fede senza veruno timore. E non tanto che egli la confessasse nella sua vita, ma infino a l'ultimo della vita. Unde nella estremità della morte venendogli meno la voce e lo 'nchiostro, avendo ricevuto il colpo, egli intinse il dito nel sangue suo: non à carta questo glorioso martire, e però s'inchina e scrive in terra confessando la fede, cioè il {*Credo in Deum*}." While recent scholarship suggests that Peter may have been killed not by the Cathars but by a hired assassin, Catherine is following the hagiographical accounts generated in the wake of Peter's death; see Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 83–90, for the construction of Peter's cult.

the last minutes of his life turning his mute body into a book and testimony of his faith.

These are only several if among the most dramatic of numerous passages in which Catherine takes up writing as a means of manifesting Christian faith. Prompted as at least several of them are by 2 Corinthians, they provide us with important connections to Catherine's conception of her mission as a disseminator of God's word who is not limited to the spoken word. Moreover, as exemplified in the martyrdom of Christ and Peter, as well as during Catherine's painfully lonely night at the Rocca, writing is performed primarily *in extremis*. Like the oral and charismatic Jesus, like Peter Martyr whose "arte" or trade was that of sewing and gathering the fruit of souls,[65] Catherine deals largely in spoken words—praying, preaching, disputing, spreading the faith—without fear. Yet, just as when Jesus is on the cross and Peter struck down in the forest, Catherine alone at the Isola della Rocca, "bursting" in her heart, can have recourse *only* to writing if she wants to disseminate her beliefs, as she—and they—engage in what are or what they believe to be their final moments, their work of preaching finished. One of her final letters, written in January of 1380, three months before her death, speaks explicitly of the physical exertion and suffering involved in the act of writing. She informs Raymond that one evening, she was literally

> constrained to write Christ on earth [Urban], and the three cardinals: I got myself help to go into the study. And after I had written to Urban, I no longer had any way to write. Such were the pains that grew in my body. And such was my terror over this corporeal pain that I wanted to flee the study, and go into the chapel, as though the study had been the cause of my pains.[66]

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[65] For the allusion to the "arte" or guild of sowing and gathering the harvest of souls, see Letter 121, p. 380. Karen Scott calls attention to this moment in the letters, suggesting ways in which Catherine authorized herself by reference to the medieval guilds and other civic societies; see "St Catherine of Siena, *Apostola*." *Church History* 61 (1992), 34–46, at 39.

[66] Letter 373, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 760: "…constretta di scivere a Cristo in terra e a tre cardinali. Fecimi aitare e anda'mene ne lo studio; e scritto che io ebbi a Cristo in terra non ebbi modo di scrivere più, tante furono le pene che crebbero al corpo mio. /…Tanto era il terrore, con la pena corporale, che io volevo fuggirmi de lo studio, e andarmene in capella, come se lo studio fusse stato cagione de le pene mie."

As Catherine abruptly ceases to write, once again we see the implicit pun on *penna* and *pene*.

The desire to record in her own hand in turn gives way to the request, near death, to others to gather what she has already written or had written for her. In this same letter, Catherine directs to Raymond, then in Genoa, a poignant *congedo* or leave-taking, in which she asks him to

> gather up my book and all of the writings (*scrittura*) of mine that you can find, you and Fra Bartolomeo [Dominici] and Fra Tommaso [Caffarini] and the "Master" [Maestro Giovanni Tantucci, a hermit from Sant'Agostino], and bring them together with your hands, and do with them what you think will bring the most honor to God, for it was in these pages that I found some consolation.[67]

What Raymond would call the *Dialogo*, Caterina refers here to simply as the *Libro*, insisting on its status as a written rather than verbal text, while her letters have become *scrittura*—writings. Catherine asks Raymond to serve as "the shepherd and governor, even the father"—of the *famiglia* gathered around her, and one for which Catherine said she would be able to do more "after my death, than I was able to do in life."[68] Certainly she is hopeful she will be able to play a role in heaven. Yet, is it not possible that she is thinking of the good that her *scrittura* will be able to perform among her community once she is gone, so leading to that process of *intendare* or understanding to which she had counseled Monna Melina when she left Lucca in 1376?

Raymond did not act on Catherine's request, busy with his new job as Master General of the Dominicans. It was left instead to another disciple mentioned in her letter, Tommaso Caffarini, to fulfill Catherine's desire for an ongoing textual presence after her death. Indeed, Caffarini was industrious in gathering together and copying Catherine's works after her death in the scriptorium he oversaw in Venice.[69] Thus if Raymond seems uninterested in bridging the divide between

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[67] Letter 373, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 762: "Anco vi prego che el Libro e ogni scrittura la quale travaste di me, voi e frate Bartolomeo e frate Tommaso e il Maestro, ve le rechiate per le mani; e fatene quello che vedete che sia più onore di Dio…nel quale io truovo alcuna recreazione."

[68] Ibid. "E io credo fare più per loro e per voi doppo la morte mia che ne la vita."

[69] On Caffarini's efforts, see the introduction to the *Libellus de supplemento* as well as to the modern edition of his life of Maria Stortoni: *La santità imitabile. "Leggenda di Maria da Venezia" di Tommaso da Siena*, ed. Fernanda Sorelli (Venice, 1984).

written and oral cultures, Caffarini attempted to make Catherine part of a literate society, not only by translating several of her letters and prayers into Latin but also by emphasizing her ability to write in his *Legenda minor* and in a lengthy chapter in the *Libellus de supplemento*, where he elaborated on and added to Raymond's *Legenda maior*.[70]

We are thus back to where we began: a bifurcation in the hagiographical literature and ultimately in the historical record as to the superiority of speech or writing as the best means for apprehending and divulging Christian truth. But when one turns to Catherine's own words on the matter, it is clear that she saw writing as a means of creating intimacy as well as fostering independence, both presumably for herself and for her disciples, who receive a taste of her words—and of herself—when she is not with them. "Taste" is not an idle word, as in one letter she speaks quite literally of the "molding bread" that she encourages her disciples to eat in her absence. Yet writing does not merely alter the experience of orality and enable a qualitatively different relationship with the person who speaks. As the allusions to Christ's body as a book attest, writing is itself a transformative experience, changing the writer into a suffering figure whose lacerations on the page imitate the lacerations on Christ's body, and whose ultimate disappearance from the world necessitates the metamorphosis of body into text: the "lambskin" that is both sacrificial body and page. Writing extends one's presence in the world beyond death—even as the act of writing serves to hasten death—while changing that presence in significant ways.

How to situate this altogether too brief chronology of Catherine's preoccupation with the dynamics of orality and literacy in the larger context of women's writing in late medieval Europe? How especially to read Catherine's willingness to explore the technology of writing and her conviction in the importance of her *Dialogo* and letters as *scrittura* in light of Francesca Romana's refusal? The spurning by the "humile ancilla" or humble handmaiden of such a technology as vainglorious departs from Catherine's acceptance of such a gift in the letter written from the Val d'Orcia: all Francesca wants, as she claims at the beginning of this diabolical vision, is to be "left alone in solitude as always, so that she might better possess and taste the great good

[70] See Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, pp. 87–89.

had from God."[71] Francesca was seen throughout Italy as a model of exemplary humility. Hence Catherine's compatriot San Bernardino da Siena likely refers to Francesca when in a sermon in Siena he mentions two women he encountered in Rome: "I believe they were both extremely holy, and both of them were married women; they preoccupied themselves far less with their own consolation than with the needs of their neighbors."[72] Tellingly, there is no record of San Bernardino ever mentioning his Sienese compatriot Catherine, who sought "consolazione" through writing and who would have been far more familiar to Sienese ears than the distant Francesca Romana. Does what may seem like an intentional omission of Catherine—and advocacy of the humble Francesca—suggest a shift with respect to the role of women's writing in the course of several decades?

Such a conclusion would seem too abrupt, for several reasons. For one thing, despite the fact that women wrote in their own vernaculars elsewhere in Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries, they hardly did so without concern for their reputation or possible prosecution by the Church. Like Francesca, they seem to have worried about the charge of "vainglory." The beguine Mechthild of Magdeburg and the French Abbess Marguerite d'Oingt both preface their works with disclaimers. Marguerite refers explicitly to her presumption as she notes

> I ask all those who read this not to think badly [of me] because I had the presumption to write this, since you must believe that I have no sense or learning with which I would know how to take these things from my heart, nor could I write this down without any model than the Grace of God which is working within me.[73]

Jennifer Summit suggests that Marguerite Porète, burnt as a heretic in Paris in the early 14th century, may have come under suspicion precisely "because she wrote her book herself, without the usual textual

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[71] Mattiotti, *Il dialetto romanesco del Quattrocento*, p. 231. It is impossible to know if Saint Francesca Romana knew of Catherine's "gift"; Raymond's life of Catherine had by the 1430s circulated far more widely than the letters, if extant manuscript copies are any indication.

[72] *Repertorio degli esempi volgari di Bernardino da Siena*, eds. Carlo Delcorno and Saverio Amadori (Bologna, 2002), p. 148: "Credo santissime, le quali erano maritate ognuna—Elleno non pensavano tanto d'avere la consolazione di loro, quanto al bisogno del prossimo."

[73] Quoted in Jennifer Summit, "Women and Authorship," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, eds. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 91–108, at p. 96.

mediation of a scribe or other representatives of institutional literacy."[74] Unlike the Dominican nuns in Germany for whom writing—in the sense of copying—was a labor of obedience, Marguerite and Mechthild, far more independent as beguines or tertiaries, undertook writing of their *own* accord, without the consent or order of a superior—and with the attendant concerns of the authorities.

Still, it is unlikely that Catherine or Francesca were aware of these other women in France and the Low Countries. For a better analogy, and one that may well have influenced the two Italian women, we must look closer to home. The case of Catherine's contemporary, Birgitta of Sweden, presents a far more immediate example, while at the same time offering complications not to be found in the histories of Marguerite Porète or Mechthild. For the educated aristocrat Birgitta, whose *Book of Revelations* was composed over a period of years in the mid-14th century and who, like Catherine, advocated the return of the papacy to Rome, writing was both work and suffering. In one revelation of the thousands that compose the work that she, like Catherine, referred to as a "book," Birgitta asks Mary as to whether or not she will "'ever work in order to earn my living.'" Mary responds, "'What are you doing just now and every day?' And I answered, 'I learn grammar and pray and write.' Then the blessed Mother said, 'Don't give up such a work for physical work!'"[75] Several autograph copies of Birgitta's survive, written in the Old Swedish: "when she was well, she wrote down with her own hand and in her mother tongue the words divinely given to her."[76] But late in life—so her biographers tell us—she received instructions from the Virgin Mary to tell

> …a certain hermit-priest Alphonsus, a friend and acquaintance of hers, to write down and copy the books of the revelations that had been divinely given to her and which indeed until then had been kept secret. At the deathbed of this same lady, Christ confirmed this by instructing the same Lady Birgitta to tell her confessors to hand over to the said hermit all the secret revelations and all others that they had not yet handed over in order that this same hermit might have them written

[74] Summit, "Women and Authorship," p. 97.

[75] Birgitta of Sweden, *Revelations of Saint Birgitta of Sweden*, trans. Denis Searby, introduction by Bridget Morris (Oxford, 2006), Book 4:46.

[76] *The Life of Blessed Birgitta*, in *Birgitta of Sweden. Life and Selected Revelations*, ed. Marguerite Tjader Harris, trans. Albert Ryle Kezel, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1990), chap. 37, p. 81.

> out and that he might publish them to the nations for the honor and glory of God.[77]

The *Book of Revelations* is recorded by the author in Swedish but translated into Latin, ultimately written not by Birgitta's hand but by that of her confessor. This was a translation process over which Birgitta is said to have presided, checking the translation after it was produced "so that there might not be one word more added there or missing but only what she herself had divinely heard and seen in the vision."[78] However, as the history of manuscript versions of Birgitta's revelations attest, the translation was not immune from numerous explanatory interpolations made by the confessors themselves. Birgitta's own written productions in the vernacular thus gave way to translations and editions in Latin—ensuring, it would seem, sufficient institutional oversight.

And yet even this was not enough to guarantee Birgitta's humility. Birgitta's canonization in the 1390s was challenged by one of the most acute legal minds of the 15th century, the Frenchman Jean Gerson. A critical figure at the Council of Constance in 1415, at which a Swedish delegation had pressed to have Birgitta's 1390 canonization by Urban VI confirmed, Gerson argued that Alphonso sought only his own fame when he translated and published Birgitta's revelations, while Birgitta herself lived not the quiet life away from society as decorum mandated but, instead, "always sought the centre of public life to utter her religious messages."[79] It was highly unlikely to him that Birgitta received her revelations through the gift of the Spirit, which he argued was "granted by virtue of hierarchical office and spiritual gift."[80] For him,

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[77] *Life of Blessed Birgitta*, ed. Harris, ch. 78, p. 95. The intended permanence of the revelations is apparent in the following metaphor that Jesus uses when he appears to Birgitta in a vision in Jerusalem: "after your passing, more will receive my words and will follow them with sweetness, for they are not like a flower that will fall but like a fruit that lasts for eternity." Note that he refers to the words that Birgitta will record as his own.

[78] *Life of Blessed Birgitta*, ed. Harris, ch. 37, pp. 81–82. The paragraph is a lengthy and detailed discussion of Birgitta's concern for the Latin translation and includes several sentences about Birgitta dictating "in her own vernacular" when she was ill: the confessor would say the words in "the Latin tongue for the writer, and he wrote them down right there in her presence. And afterward, when the words had been written out, she wanted to listen to them; and she listened very diligently and attentively."

[79] Bridget Morris in *St Birgitta of Sweden* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), p. 157, gives this account of Gerson's reactions in *De probatione spirituum*, from 1415.

[80] Ibid.

the prospect of a woman writing a book smacked of a presumptuousness entirely missing from those exemplary women who were the companions of St Jerome. As he condemns any form of written authority by women in his *De probatione spirituum*, Gerson suggests that the only literate women worthy of praise are the 4th-century Paula and Eustochium. Using the *ubi sunt* formulation of classical Latin poetry, he asks rhetorically, "Where are the writings of those extremely learned and devout women, Paula, Eustochia, and their like?" Not surprisingly, "nothing survives them because"—unlike Birgitta—"they did not presume to write."[81] And this is a Birgitta whom scholars have argued Catherine may have in some ways replaced, at least in the eyes of the papacy; Suzanne Noffke has suggested that Gregory was "looking to Catherine as a possible continuing source of the wisdom for which he [i.e., like his predecessor, Urban V] had counted on Birgitta."[82]

Alfonso, the Spanish bishop of Jaén who resigned his post to take up a life of penitence, met with Catherine shortly after Birgitta's death in 1373. Catherine even refers to his arrival in a letter (Letter 127) she wrote on Palm Sunday of 1374 to Caffarini, that

> The pope has sent here his representative, who was the confessor of that countess who died in Rome.… He came to me on behalf of the holy father to say that I should pray especially for the pope and for the holy church, and as proof he brought me the holy indulgence. Rejoice and be glad, for the holy father has begun to turn his eye towards the honor of God and that of the holy church.[83]

Whether Alfonso influenced Catherine's subsequent desire to learn how to write or to ask on her deathbed that her own writings be gath-

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[81] Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols (Paris, 1960–73), 9:468: "Ubi sunt scripta tot eruditissimarum ac devotissimarum foeminarum: Paulae, Eustochium similiumque? Certe nulla supersunt, quia nulla praesumpserunt." A page later, he cautions his readers against listening to anyone without education (*inferiores praesertim idiotas*), particularly "little women without Latin"—*sine litteris mulierculas*, a reference scholars have taken to indicate Catherine.

[82] Letter 127 in Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:40, n. 13.

[83] Letter 127, in Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato, in *Santa Caterina da Siena. Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni, p. 251: "El papa mandò di qua el suo vicario, e ciò fue el padre di quella contessa che morì a Roma…venne a me da parte del padre santo, che io dovessi fare speziale orazione per lui e per la santa Chiesa, e per segno mi recò la santa indulgenzia. Gaudete et exaltate, ché 'l padre santo a cominciato ad eccitare l'occhio verso l'onore di Dio e de la santa Chiesa."

ered for the honor of God cannot be known. But Birgitta's "labors" of writing—and her *Liber*, massive and influential project that it was, geared toward reforming the clergy and urging wayward French popes to return to Rome—would certainly have intrigued Catherine, who began her own *Dialogo* not long after Birgitta's death, and on the occasion of her learning to write.[84] The culture of the book fostered by the society of clerics gathered around Birgitta, supposedly ordained by her to gather her writings and publish them to the nations for "God's glory," was not unlike the group of scribes that took dictation for Catherine and copied her letters, now retaining some, now losing sight of others, a project that can be said to have begun in earnest in or around 1374.[85] And Catherine's insistence on writing as a labor sanctioned by God echoes the directive that Birgitta receives from Mary. At the same time, the disagreement in the hagiographic tradition between Raymond of Capua and Caffarini regarding Catherine's relationship to literacy and textuality may be closely connected to Birgitta's fate in late medieval Europe and its arguable impact on Catherine.

Where are Paulina's letters? Where are they indeed? There was no industry to preserve the words of this 5th-century woman, and all we have are Jerome's replies. Gerson would maintain that Paulina's letters were an ephemeral production, a voice that necessarily disappeared, while Birgitta's surviving text attested to the vainglory of its confessor *and* its author, even if she finally was canonized. Francesca Romana would shortly rebuke her confessor for this very act of "vainglory," outraged by his suggestion that her words were worthy of being read by others. She thus enacts Gerson's prohibition against women's writing and his conviction of the unworthiness of women's words. Raymond himself may have walked a fine line between his readiness to preserve Catherine's spoken words and his apparent resistance to—possibly his

[84] It is not clear how closely Alfonso would remain connected with Catherine, although his presence in her life arguably signified a bridge between the learned and noble Birgitta and the less learned Catherine—and thus a continuity in female advocates to the papacy that did not appear to respect differences in social class. He would become as avid a promoter of Catherine's sanctity as he would of Birgitta's. On Alfonso and Birgitta, see, among other works, Claire Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy* (Woodbridge, 2001); and Clare Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching Performance, and Gender in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2003).

[85] On which, see Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Il problema critico delle lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano* 49 (1933), 229.

ignorance of—her own efforts to do the same; it is no coincidence that the longest chapter of his *Legenda maior*, the final one, defends Catherine against the charge of vainglory. Caffarini, in contrast, championed what he saw as Catherine's inspired prerogative to take up the pen and write, thereby mirroring Christ's sacred inscriptions on the cross and providing for himself and other members of his scriptorium in Venice a model for their own scribal labors.

But even Caffarini would try to make of Catherine's spirituality what has been called an "imitable sanctity," as is evident from a hagiography he composed about a contemporary Venetian woman who died in 1399 at only 20 years old.[86] Trapped in a troublesome marriage, Maria Sturion became a devotee of Caffarini's, who taught her to write by having her copy pages by Catherine; she learns so well that later, with his permission, "she wrote to certain Sisters of Penance of Saint Dominic in Pisa"—the same convent with which Catherine had extensive contact when she was alive.[87] Unlike Francesca Romana, Maria welcomes Caffarini's efforts to teach her to write. At the same time, she wrote not revelations from God but, mainly, letters to Dominican nuns and tertiaries—as well as copies of texts by Catherine, Caffarini, and others, thus placing herself within the tradition of obedient religious working within scriptoria. Maria becomes a more modest version of Catherine, evoking a pastoral model rather than one grounded in identification with Christ's bleeding body or the desire to preserve, at all costs, words sent from God and meant to be read by Europe's most prominent men and women.

Confronted with Catherine's unhesitating acceptance of God's gift, literary and religious tradition has tried—and has had—to make its peace. Despite opposition to full female literacy outside of traditional religious communities, Catherine embraced the implications of writing and reading, clearly desiring to insert herself within the spiritual and literary traditions of late medieval Italy—even seeking to join the esteemed company of the learned Thomas Aquinas and John the Evangelist, the "writing" apostle, as the end of her letter to Raymond

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[86] The phrase is Fernanda Sorelli's, from the title of her edition of Caffarini's life of Maria: *La santità imitabile: "Leggenda di Maria da Venezia" di Tommaso da Siena* (Venice, 1984).

[87] *The Legend of Maria of Venice*, trans. Daniel E. Bornstein, in *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2005), ch. 8, p. 128.

about the miracle of her writing lesson suggests. Yet, Francesca's rejection several decades later of those same desires, even as it registers the stark reactions of a Gerson to Catherine's and Birgitta's *libri*, is in some ways no less extreme. Caffarini's Maria Sturion occupies a midpoint between the two, but so do Caterina Vegri, Teresa of Avila, and others who within conventual settings invoked tropes of obedience and humility while penning their not inconsiderable tomes.[88] The noblewoman Caterina Fieschi or Catherine of Genoa presents a different example yet; she composed her *Corpus catherinianum* outside the walls of a convent, and her *Trattato del purgatorio* and other writings were prohibited by the Inquisition until the end of the 16th century.[89]

Clearly, the Sienese Catherine's outspoken insistence about the importance of reading and writing for female spirituality represents a crucial dimension of women's mystical expression in late medieval and early modern Europe. Much work remains to be done on the impact of other literate and outspoken women like Birgitta on Catherine, as well as her associations with the educated women of Siena's elite society who were her first scribes. Too, Catherine's subsequent impact on female communities that promoted her texts—most famously, the female followers of Savonarola in Florence or the Brigittine community of Syon in England in the early 15th century—deserves more careful study.[90] To invoke the Mexican nun cited at the very beginning of this chapter, one can easily imagine Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz inserting Catherine into the list of literate women which she offered up to her attacker, the

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[88] Maria Domitilla Galluzzi writes her *Vita da lei narrata* in 1624 only out of obedience and against her will, just as Teresa of Avila claims to write her *Moradas* only because her spiritual fathers asked her to do so. In the 18th century, Veronica Giuliani wrote down her numerous visions only under duress and the insistence of her superiors.

[89] See the introduction to the English translation of Catherine's works, *Purgation and Purgatory. The Spiritual Dialogue of Catherine of Genoa*, trans. Serge Hughes and intro. by Benedict J. Groeschel (New York, 1979).

[90] Tamar Herzig, *Savonarola's Women. Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 2008), and several essays in *Il Velo, la Penna, e la Parola: Storia, istituzioni e scritture*, eds. Gabriella Zarri and Gianni Festi (Florence, 2009), are welcome examples of recent scholarship that consider Catherine's impact on Dominican female communities in Italy. On the Syon community, see Jane Chance, "St Catherine of Siena in Late Medieval Britain. Feminizing Literary Reception through Gender and Class," *Annali d'Italianistica* 13 (1995), 163–203. A more general study of the nuns at Syon, although without extensive consideration of Catherine, is Nancy Bradley Warren, *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2001).

bishop of Pueblo, in the 1690s in order to defend her own extraordinary intellectual productions: "how are we to view the fact that the Church permitted a Gertrude, a Santa Teresa, a Saint Birgitta, the Nun of Ágreda [Sor Maria of Ágreda], and so many others, to write?"[91]

Finally, it is worth noting that Catherine's dream of writing took place during a moment when we have the first glimpses of a recognizably modern conception of authorship as articulated by Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the first professional woman writer (and another Italian), Christine de Pizan. Such profound shifts in the process of composition and *scribere* take us far from the oral and collaborative world of dictation and toward the wholly visual, solitary process known by the modern writer and reader. It also enables the appearance of the self-made author, one that would be recognized in 14th-century frontispieces depicting Boccaccio, or Petrarch and Christine—sitting at their desks, writing.[92] In a moment that predates the invention of the printing press but partakes in this late stage of manuscript culture, we see writers with pens in hand, sometimes circumscribed by a waiting audience, and thus signifying what Roger Chartier calls "the author identified by name himself writing, composing the text given to his reader to read."[93] Petrarch and Boccaccio alike promoted a largely secular theory of authorship and writing as proprietary acts. They thus contributed to a notion of writing as the "expression of an individuality that gives authenticity to the work," in Chartier's phrase, as *escrire* in French and *scrivere* in Italian come to mean *not* copying but the composition of texts, the intimate experience of the author drawing on his or her own mental wealth. By the late 14th century, even the gospel writers were placed within these new parameters of late medieval authorship, depicted at their desks and without the telltale signs of inspiration

[91] Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poems, Protests, and a Dream*, p. 59: "¿cómo vemos que la Iglesia ha permitido que escriba una Gertrudis, una Teresa, una Brígida, la monja de Ágreda y otras muchas?"

[92] For the paucity of images of women writing before 1500 (Christine and Birgitta of Sweden were notable exceptions), see Lesley Smith, "*Scriba, Femina*. Medieval Depictions of Women Writing," in *Women and the Book. Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds., Lesley Smith and Jane H. Taylor (Toronto, 1997), pp. 21–44.

[93] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteen and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Stanford, 1992), p. 45.

such as descending doves or angels appearing on clouds to tell them what to write, as though they were "simply" scribes.[94]

In this story of the emergence of what we would now recognize as a modern conception of authorship tied to literacy and the act of writing, the orality of a dictating Catherine, with its concomitant notions of collaboration, dictation, and literally, in-spiration, harkens back to late medieval norms. Yet, her intensely personal myth of learning to write and her vision of literate communities of women corresponding with one another across vast distances also had serious implications for the incipiently modern world unfolding around her in Trecento Tuscany and beyond.

[94] See the complex arguments of A.J. Minnis on early connections between the secular trappings of authorship and the evangelists in *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (London, 1984); Minnis's contention is that the scholastics themselves provided the basis for bringing together pagan and scriptural *auctores*. See also Paul Saenger's comments in "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator* 13 (1982), 367–414, as to a "new iconography of spiritual experience" by the 14th century, pp. 401–05. Saenger comments on p. 389 about depictions of Catherine's *banditore* St Paul as shown writing. Albert Ascoli's recent work, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (Cambridge, 2008), charts the emergence of Dante's consideration and constitution of himself as an author, no longer dependent on the reader to confer that authority. The consideration of Catherine's "authorship" is work for another article; my claims here are limited to the way that Catherine fashioned herself as literate, and the meaning of that literacy for herself, her immediate circle of disciples, and her future readers. For a discussion of the construction of Catherine's "authorship" in the 15th century, see F. Thomas Luongo, "Saintly Authorship in the Italian Renaissance. The Quattrocento Reception of Catherine of Siena's *Letters*," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 9 (2005), 1–29.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE *PROCESSO CASTELLANO* AND THE CANONIZATION OF CATHERINE OF SIENA

George Ferzoco

Not long after Catherine of Siena's death on 29 April 1380, Pope Urban VI gave permission for her confessor, the Dominican Raymond of Capua, to remove Catherine's head from her tomb in Rome and take it to Siena. This relic was received in Siena and formally placed in the sacristy of the basilica of San Domenico in May 1385, following weeks of devoted celebrations organized by lay and religious authorities.[1] These events are part of the rich evidence indicating that Catherine of Siena was immediately considered by many to be a most holy person. The momentum of her cult had already begun immediately upon her death: in order to keep the crush of mourners away from her body, it was necessary for her to be placed in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva behind an iron grill.[2] Three days and nights passed before the crowds subsided sufficiently to permit her funeral mass in the church, followed by her burial in the adjacent cemetery. Soon afterward, Catherine's body was moved from the cemetery to a marble tomb in the church, in a chapel near the main altar, where it rested intact until the removal of her head and its translation to Siena.[3]

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[1] For details of the translation and the ceremonies, see Gregorio Lombardelli, *Ragguaglio della traslazione della sacra testa di S. Caterina* (Siena, 1593); Tommaso Angiolini, *Breve relazione del modo come fu portata da Roma a Siena la sacra testa di Santa Caterina* (Siena, 1683); *Die Kirchen von Siena*, vol. 2.1.2, *Oratorio della Carità—S. Domenico*, eds. Peter Anselm Riedl and Max Seidel, Textband (Munich, 1992), p. 458; and Gerald Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena. A Study in Civil Religion* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 20.

[2] See Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum. III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675) cols 853A–959B (esp. 947E–F) (hereafter *Legenda maior*; see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*); and Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, *Epistola Barducci de morte S. Catharinae Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675) cols 959B–961B (esp. 961A).

[3] For a detailed discussion of the burial, see Lidia Bianchi, "Il sepolcro di S. Caterina da Siena nella basilica di S. Maria sopra Minerva," in *Iconografia di Santa Caterina da*

It may seem surprising that such a flourishing and nurtured cult had to wait 81 years for its object to be officially recognized by the Church as a saint, even though canonization processes may vary tremendously in length and manner. Some are extremely fast—Anthony of Padua was declared formally to be a saint just one year after his death—while others are extremely slow to complete (if they are undertaken at all).[4] Moreover, some cults have flourished despite the absence of a canonization, or perhaps even a real person.[5] The formal declaration of a person's holiness never occurs in a socio-political vacuum, or purely on the basis of clinical analysis of objective data, or within the confines of technical theological or canonical debate; in the case of Catherine of Siena's canonization, all of these are visible in varying degrees. Here will be presented an outline of the canonization process of Catherine (including the *Processo Castellano* of 1411–16), together with indications of the state of her cult up to her canonization by Pope Pius II in 1461.[6]

Siena, vol. 1, *L'immagine*, eds. Lidia Bianchi and Diega Giunta (Rome, 1988), pp. 15–62, esp. pp. 18–23.

[4] Anthony died on 13 June 1231 and was canonized on 23 June 1232.

[5] For one example, the case of St Roch will suffice; see *San Rocco: Genesi e prima espansione di un culto. Incontro di studio, Padova 12–13 febbraio 2004*, eds. Antonio Rigon and André Vauchez, Subsidia hagiographica 87 (Brussels, 2006).

[6] It is surprising that an in-depth study of Catherine's canonization process is yet to be undertaken. Fortunately, the "Processo Castellano" and many related documents have been edited by M.-H. Laurent in *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina da Siena*, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942) (hereafter referred to as *Processo Castellano*); I wish to thank the Dominicans Alfredo Scarciglia of the Basilica Cateriniana di San Domenico, Siena, and Paul-Bernard Hodel of the Université de Fribourg/Universität Freiburg (Switzerland) for their kind assistance in regard to this work. As this chapter was completed, an Italian version of the process was published: *Il Processo Castellano. Santa Caterina da Siena nelle testimonianze al Processo di canonizzazione di Venezia*, eds. Tito S. Centi and Angelo Belloni, Biblioteca di Memorie Domenicane 2 (Florence, 2009); the translation is based on the edition of Laurent (whose introduction is presented summarily here as well). Recent studies presenting aspects or overviews of the canonization process include: Emily Ann Moerer, "Catherine of Siena and the Use of Images in the Creation of a Saint, 1347–1461" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2003), especially pp. 85–94; Diega Giunta, "Pio II e la canonizzazione di Caterina da Siena," in Manlio Sodi and Arianna Antoniutti, eds, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pius Secundus poeta laureatus Pontifex Maximus. Atti del convegno internazionale, 29 settembre–1 ottobre 2005, Roma, e altri studi* (Rome, 2007), pp. 57–84; Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion*, pp. 15–27 (which concentrates, as the subtitle suggests, on lay as opposed to clerical aspects; for this reason, one should look here for elements of the process or the pre-canonization cult that are clearly linked to the government of Siena).

Catherine's fame as a saint had been established in her lifetime,[7] but after her death it was felt that she should be the subject of an authoritative *vita*, or hagiographical biography. Over much of the decade following the installation of Catherine's head in Siena, Raymond devoted himself (among his many other tasks, which included his work as Master of the Order of Preachers) to composing the work commonly known as the *Legenda maior*, the *vita* which would prove to be the most influential hagiographical work concerning Catherine.[8] The *Legenda maior*'s completion in the last years of the 14th century coincided with the beginning of the campaign by Caffarini to seek papal approval of the Dominican *mantellate*, and as a part of that project, the development of a saintly cult around Catherine.[9]

Based in Venice, the Sienese Caffarini nurtured this cult in a number of ways. He arranged for the creation and publication of woodcuts. These images, which could be copied easily and were comparatively cheap to produce, certainly aided in making Catherine known.[10] Then there were the relics: in 1398, Caffarini went to Siena and took from there to Corpus Domini (the Dominican convent of *mantellate*, of which he was the prior, in Venice) some letters of Catherine, along with a finger, a tooth, and her first habit. All of these were displayed, annually and publicly, when her life was remembered.[11]

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[7] See the testimony of Stefano Maconi in *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 259, where he declares that when he was converted to a more spiritual and religious life by Catherine in 1376, "sancta virgo predicta florebat quasi per universam Tusciam et magnis virtutum preconiis a quamplurimis extollebatur et opera valde miranda referebantur." Carlo Frati and Arnaldo Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei codici Marciani italiani a cura della direzione della R. Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco in Venezia*, 2 vols (Modena, 1909–11), 2:262, note that in manuscript Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ital. V 26, on fols 93–100, there is a work in the vernacular describing Maconi's conversion.

[8] Silvia Nocentini, "The *Legenda maior* of Catherine of Siena," in this volume.

[9] Moerer, "Catherine of Siena and the Use of Images," pp. 49–51.

[10] Sara Matthews Grieco, "Modelli di santità femminile nell'Italia del Rinascimento e della Controriforma," in *Donna e fede. Santità e vita religiosa in Italia*, eds. Lucia Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Rome, 1994), pp. 303–25 (esp. p. 317). See also Gaudenz Freuler, "Andrea di Bartolo, Fra Tommaso d'Antonio Caffarini, and Sienese Dominicans in Venice," *The Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 570–86 (esp. 572–73).

[11] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), pp. 406–07; see also Caffarini's testimony regarding Catherine's relics and images in *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 58–66. The most famous of Catherine's relics extant today in Venice is her right foot, displayed in the church of San Zanipolo, but this relic seems not to be mentioned in early sources. According to Pio Tommaso Masetti, *Memorie istoriche della chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva e de' suoi moderni restauri, aggiuntevi*

Probably of the greatest importance was the preaching he and others effected. We know, for example, that Caffarini preached a Lenten cycle in 1396, in which on every one of the 42 days of Lent (between Ash Wednesday and Holy Thursday) he discussed how Catherine conformed to Christ Crucified, particularly in regard to Catherine's stigmata.[12] Metaphorically, he would discuss one of the seven feathers on each of the six wings of "the Crucified seraph"; each of these feathers would be a biblical theme relevant to the Crucifixion. The examples he would use in his Lenten preaching were all inspired by the life and miracles of the holy Sienese woman, so that the cycle effectively served as a privileged medium to publicize Catherine and to establish more firmly her cult.[13]

With each passing year, the celebration of Catherine's death acquired greater fervor, to the point that on 3 May 1411, people attending masses in Venice's Dominican church of San Zanipolo heard sermons by Bartolomeo da Ferrara and by Caffarini on the sanctity of Catherine, even though this was the feast of the Invention of the Cross.[14] The close chronological link between Catherine's *dies natalis* (29 April, the day she was born into Heaven) and the liturgical commemoration of the Invention of the Cross (3 May) served preachers who wanted to enhance the claim of Catherine's sanctity, doing so by the use of Cross

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alcune notizie sul corpo di S. Caterina da Siena e sulle varie sue traslazioni (Rome, 1855), pp. 63 and 65–66, the arrival of the relic in the church is not recorded, but it is believed that Gioacchino Torriani, master general of the Order of Preachers from 1487 to 1500 (and who presided over a formal recognition of Catherine's remains in 1487), presented it as a gift to the convent in which he had lived as a younger man.

[12] See the chapter by Carolyn Muessig, "Catherine of Siena in Late Medieval Sermons" in the present volume; it discusses this and other sermons that deal with Catherine.

[13] See Caffarini's testimony in *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 31: "[I]n conventu Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli ego per totam unam quadragesimam cum festis pascalibus, me tunc existente predicatore dicti conventus, die qualibet dicte quadragesime de dicta virgine specialiter predicavi, adaptando materiam cuius libet evangelii ad materiam alicuius conditionis vel proprietatis seraphici crucifixi ac divini amoris reperte sive existentis in virgine prelibata, quod fuit anno Domini M.CCC.XCVI." For an outline of these themes of these sermons, see manuscript Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV.24, fols 204v–205v; see also Julien Luchaire, "Un manuscrit de la Légende de sainte Catherine de Sienne," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 19 (1899), 149–58.

[14] See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross. Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 53 (2009), 9–30 for an examination of earlier cases in which such thematic cross-fertilization is witnessed. Promoters of Catherine's cult, by using key texts related to the Cross, linked her to other saints whose feasts were commemorated similarly.

imagery in sermons dealing with Catherine, and vice versa. In Venice, the feast of the Invention of the Cross had a local appeal additional to its presence in the liturgical calendar of the universal Church, as it was Venice which held the earthly remains of St Helen, who, according to legend, discovered the True Cross on which Jesus had been crucified.[15] Perhaps as a result of the presence of St Helen's remains there, Venice developed a great cult for the Cross.[16]

At any rate, these 1411 sermons gave rise to debate among those who heard them: some hesitated to have Catherine commemorated so formally; others were moved to an even greater devotion to her; and yet others still may have felt confusion between a deep devotion to a person they were convinced was holy yet who had not been papally recognized as a saint. Seven people who heard Bartolomeo's preaching went to the bishop of Castello, Francesco Bembo, asking that he gather information from the Dominicans of the convent attached to the church of San Zanipolo, such that he might be able to bring calm to those in the diocese who may have been bothered by the nascent cult.

Their petition is striking in its request, and central to how information would be gathered, and which information would be sought:

> For a long time, every year there is prepared and celebrated in the places and convents of the Dominicans of Venice . . . the feast of a woman called and named blessed Catherine of Siena, who moreover appears depicted in many places and to many this seems not to be well done, and not according to the dispositions of the most holy Roman Church, given that this woman has not yet been canonized. Having on the other hand the certainty that the Reverend Father and most excellent Lord Francesco, bishop of Castello, will want to investigate and ensure that the devotions and things of the Church are effected appropriately, according to the

[15] The remains of St Helen, the mother of the Roman emperor Constantine, were first taken to Venice in the 11th century, and for most of the past millennium they have been in the Venetian church of Sant'Elena, not far from the medieval cathedral of the diocese of Castello. The most famous account of the Invention of the Cross by St Helen is Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*; see the translation by William Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), 1:277–84.

[16] According to Gerasimos Smurnakes, *To Hagion Oros* [*The Holy Mountain*] (Athens, 1903, repr. Karyes, 1988), pp. 378–79, Venice holds the fourth-largest fragment of the True Cross. A fragment possessed by the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Battista was used in important processions in Venice and was the object of several miracles, including a famous one of ca.1370, known as the Miracle of the True Cross at the San Lorenzo Bridge; Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare* (ed. Giustiniano Martinioni; Venice, 1663), p. 284, notes a reference to this miracle in the minutes of the city's Council of Ten for 11 May 1374.

> rite, the custom and intention of the Holy Roman Church […], such that we who appear before you, moved by zeal and by ardor of charity, make and submit this pious request as we have expressed above, suggesting Your Reverence to investigate and likewise to provide, after having called the leading friars of the aforementioned convents and places, asking them for information and then ensuring and disposing with them that concerning this matter there can no longer exist the possibility of error or scandal on anyone's part; but rather that things will be taken care of such that each and every person in the city of Venice and the diocese of Castello may be able to obtain edification, spiritual consolation and holy devotion.[17]

The petitioners were originally from Venice (Bernardo Bembo, Daniele Fiono, Antonio Ravanino), Florence (Giannotto degli Alberti), Lucca (Guido Leopardi and Giovanni Leopardi), and even from Prussia (the rector of the schools of Venice, Conrad). Their request was written on the feast of the translation of St Dominic, 24 May 1411. Two days later, on the order of the bishop, Bartolomeo da Ferrara and Caffarini met with him in the chapel of the bishop's palace along with the diocesan vicar, the canon Domenico of Ascoli, and a notary, Francesco di Viviano.[18] Then,

> to avoid and quash any possible scandal, it was decided to conduct serious research and to gather information about the truth of the celebra-

[17] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 2–3: "[…] pluribus elapsis temporibus, in quibus omni anno excolitur et celebratur festum in locis et conventibus fratrum Predicatorum de Venetiis, videlicet in conventu Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli, et in conventu Sancti Dominici, cuiusdam que vocatur et nominatur beata Catherina de Senis, que etiam in pluribus locis depingitur, et multis videtur quod non sit bene factum non secundum ordinem sacrosante Romane ecclesie, ex eo quod ipsa nondum est canonizata; habita insuper recompensatione ab alia parte qualiter reverendi patris et domini domini [*sic*] Francisci episcopi Castellani interest inquirere pariter et providere, quod devotiones et res ecclesiastice directe perficiantur, et ut debetur, iuxta ritum, consuetudinem et intentionem sacrosancte Romane ecclesie […], propterea nos comparentes hic coram reverentia vestra, moti zelo et caritatis ardore, piam querellam facimus et exponimus superinde, advisando eandem reverentiam vestram ut super hoc inquirere placeat et providere mittendo pro principalioribus fratribus dictorum conventuum et locorum, ac ab eisdem inquirendo, et cum ipsis providendo, et taliter ordinando quod circa hoc non possit sequi error, nec scandalum alicius, ymmo taliter provideatur quod omnes et singuli civitatis Venetiarum et diocesis Castellane bonam edificationem, spiritualem consolationem et sanctam devotionem valeant reportare."

[18] Concerning this notary, see A. Mozzato, "Navigare nel 'notarile' di Venezia. Una bancadati per orientarsi," at http://www.newsontherialto.com/mozzatodatabase.pdf (accessed 19 September 2011), p. 58. In the collection "Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai" of Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Francesco di Viviano can be found having notarized one register and ten charters from 1410 to 1441; thus, his work on the *Processo Castellano* falls into the very earliest period of his career.

> tions in memory of the virgin Catherine of Siena, such that it may appear clear to everyone how completely legitimate is the commemoration and the preaching on the virtues of this virgin, even though she has not yet been canonized.[19]

The bishop ordered his vicar to obtain written testimony from Bartolomeo about his preaching, and from Caffarini, "who often in other years had preached about that virgin"; the bishop also wanted written testimony from "other well informed people about the virtues of that virgin."

This material has been presented textually because it reveals, explicitly as well as implicitly, the machinations underlying the process. The bishop was a member of one of the leading families of Venice; one of the many notable members of the Bembo family was Leone Bembo, who died in 1188 and was the center of a civic cult. Nor was Francecso, in 1411, a neophyte in regard to the establishment of a cult: as a younger man, he was largely responsible for the beatification of Giovanni Olini, who had recently died in 1393.[20] He was closely linked to Caffarini and to Dominican interests more generally: he actively supported the establishment of the Dominican *mantellate* and penitents in Venice, and he was the first bishop to lead a solemn Corpus Domini procession in St Mark's Square (1407).[21] His relative, Bernardo Bembo, was the first-mentioned of the seven men who formally

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[19] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 3: "…et tandem ad vitandum atque sedandum quodlibet scandalum fuit post multa conclusum quod bonum erat veritatem inquirere et informationem habere de veritate super celebratione commemorationis predicte prefate virginis Catherine de Senis, prout sic cunctis patere posset quod decenter fieret dicta commemoratio et predicatio de virtutibus ipsius virginis, licet nondum canonizata foret."

[20] The body originally lay in Venice's church of San Giovanni Decollato (or San Zane Degolà) but for the past two centuries it has been in the church of St Blaise in Vodnjan, Croatia. Apart from the fame relating to its mummified state, the body is notable for the fact it rests with the 7 October 1400 bull of Pope Boniface IX in regard to his process of canonization. Moreover, by chance this body is near that of another Venetian saint, the aforementioned Leone Bembo (who had been buried in Venice's church of San Lorenzo); these and other saints' bodies were moved to Vodnjan from Venice at the time it was conquered by Napoleon. See Marin Sanudo [or Marino Sanuto], *Le vite dei dogi*, ed. Giovanni Monticolo, Rerum italicarum scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinquecento, nuova edizione, 22.4 (Città di Castello, 1900), p. 78; also see Giuseppe Del Ton, *Cenni storici sui 'Corpi santi' di Dignano* (Vodnjan, 2004), p. 20.

[21] Giuliano Lucchetta, "Bembo, Francesco," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 8 (Rome, 1966), pp. 114–15. The Dominicans were active in the promulgation of the cult of the Corpus Domini in Venice.

instigated Francesco Bembo to carry out the process regarding Catherine; the two men were surely aligned, and there was no danger of scandal of the sort in which two notable relatives went against each other in public.[22] It seems Bernardo Bembo was part of a loyal group of worshippers who frequented San Zanipolo; included in this group were all seven of the petitioners. San Zanipolo was no ordinary religious center: not only was it the focal point of the powerful Dominican presence in Venice but also it was also where the republic's doges were buried. In addition to the prestige and clear status of the petitioners, it is unlikely that they submitted their petition on the feast of St Dominic's translation by accident; this would have been a commemoration close to their hearts, and likely it was one dear to the bishop, too. What is certain is that the petition was heard favorably and with the greatest speed: barely three weeks after the preaching in question, a formal process into Catherine's sanctity and cult was launched.

Although it was clearly the case that many diocesan authorities undertook their own information-gathering processes in the hope they could gather sufficient material to convince the papacy to conduct its own process, very few such processes have survived.[23] In comparing the *Processo Castellano* to those others, it is easy to see that the process for Catherine is much longer (while the other processes tend to interrogate many more people, who appear to speak far more briefly than does Caffarini), and that whereas the other ones tend to favor descriptions of miracles, the one effected by Francesco Bembo has a much

[22] In a private communication, Dr Jan-Christoph Rößler has shared some genealogical research he has undertaken and which he hopes to publish soon. He has confirmed that Francesco Bembo was a member of the Santissimi Apostoli branch of the family (as noted by Lucchetta, "Bembo, Francesco," p. 114), and he has informed me that Francesco had a brother named Bernardo; the two were sons of Zuanne (Giovanni) Bembo. In Francesco's testament (Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Testamenti, busta 55d), his brother Bernardo is named as his executor. However, the Bernardo Bembo of the *Processo Castellano* is specifically described as "nobilis et egregius vir Bernardus Bembo de Venetiis de confinio Sancte Marie nove, Castellane diocesis" (*Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 2); this member of the Bembo clan was not the bishop's brother, but was the son of Leonardo Bembo. Leonardo and Zuanne/Giovanni had different grandfathers, so the bishop and his name-sake petitioner were not closely related. Dr Rößler, to whom I am grateful for his advice, is in the process of reconstructing the possessions of the Bernardo Bembo who was the leading petitioner of the *Processo Castellano*.

[23] Records of only ten diocesan informative processes and local enquiries that took place between 1222 and 1429 have survived; see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, UK, 1997), pp. 559–60.

more varied content. This latter aspect is almost certainly due not only to the way that Caffarini presented his own testimony but also how he arranged for others to participate. That he, and not the bishop, made such arrangements is made clear in the text of the process, where normally, after one person's testimony ends, the notary provides a brief narrative in which Caffarini is seen to make the request to another person to contribute to the compilation of information. With obvious and unmitigated affection for Catherine, he asked only people favorable to his aims and objectives to participate.

Not surprisingly, of the 24 witnesses, the star role is reserved for Caffarini: his testimonies alone account for more than half the length of the entire process.[24] The greater part of this is taken up with a contender for the longest sermon on record: one that takes up 150 pages.[25] To be fair, Caffarini does say at the end of his main testimony (for he returns for a second declaration later in the *Processo Castellano*)[26] that the sermon is more like a compilation on matters that he preached about over the years, either concerning directly the sanctity of Catherine or the feast of the Cross, since (as in 1411) the two often intertwined chronologically as well as (for Caffarini) thematically.

The sermon has for its theme Galatians 6:14: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world."[27] After recalling Mary's suffering at the foot of the Cross and how devoted Catherine had been to Mary, Caffarini divides his discourse into three parts. The first part of the sermon is devoted to glorying in belonging to Christ. Here, after outlining the good and bad ways one can seek glory, Caffarini affirms the good ways, and how Catherine had done so herself, notably through her sufferings. The glory of living Christians is contrasted with the saints in heaven; their vision of God is discussed along with the ecstasies and visions that Catherine had experienced and written about. The second part of the sermon deals with how one should suffer with Christ crucified. Here, four aspects of the Cross are considered in relation to evil people, to the good, and to Christ: the wood of the

[24] For biographical indications concerning the witnesses, see *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. XIV–XL.

[25] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 106–255.

[26] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 430–35.

[27] This biblical theme was popular with preachers on the Cross; see Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross," pp. 3, 14.

Cross, the body that was crucified, the crosses one carries in one's heart, and visual representations of the cross. More than anyone of her day, Catherine's veneration, imitation, suffering, and deeds demonstrate how the sermon's theme applies to herself. The final part of the sermon exhorts one to love Christ's Cross, and it discusses particularly the love that Christ demonstrated on the Cross, the positive effects of that love on humankind, and the perfect example offered by the charity of the crucified Jesus. The sermon concludes with considering how the soul receiving so much love is moved to love equally in return, and that Catherine's writings, her life and deeds, and particularly her reception of the stigmata provide a fitting parallel between the saint's mystical crucifixion and the model one of Christ. Perhaps surprisingly, Caffarini actually says that Catherine can be understood to exceed the Apostle Paul in holiness.[28]

What is striking, throughout not just this process but also the documents we have that are relevant to Pius's work, is the attention given to Catherine's deeds and virtues; comparatively very little attention is given to her miracles (although of course there are many that do appear). Although it seems not to have been stated explicitly, a primary concern of Catherine's promoters may have been that someone might attack her teaching, especially regarding two fraught issues: the legitimacy of the pope and his rightful place in Rome; and the holy woman's ecstasies. This may be why we find—especially in Caffarini, but also among other witnesses such as her disciple and Carthusian prior, Stefano Maconi—accounts of how Catherine would make her views on these matters known, in the most authoritative manner possible.

Maconi himself provides an eyewitness account that stands for this major strand in the process. In Avignon, Pope Gregory XI met with Catherine on several occasions. Three leading prelates—they are not named, but one is described as being a Franciscan archbishop with the countenance of a Pharisee[29]—went to the pope and said, "Holy Father,

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[28] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 252: "[…] audeam dicere quod quodam modo in hoc Apostolum virgo excessit, pro quanto dictus modus per Apostolum post eius conversionem accepit exordium, in hac non solum innocentia baptismalis et puritas virginalis ab eiusdem infantia, sed consequenter ex tunc continue amplius usque ad finem vite […]."

[29] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 270: "Inter illos tres erat unus archiepiscopus ordinis Minorum, qui pharisaico supercilio procedens […]." If this person was a cardinal at the time, he could have been the Franciscan theologian Bertrand Lagier (c. 1320–92), who had served as bishop of Assisi and subsequently bishop of Glandèves

can this Catherine of Siena be as holy as everyone says?" The pope replied, "I truly hold her to be a holy virgin." They said, "If your Holiness permits it, we would like to pay her a visit"; to which the pope replied: "I think you will find yourselves very enriched."[30]

They went to her accommodations, and sat her in the middle of the room, among the three of them. They deliberately set out to provoke her, accusing her of being a stooge of the Florentines who had sent her to Avignon to effect their party line. Insulting her further, they said: "Don't the Florentines have a real man they can send to deal with such an important question with such an important lord?" They continued to demean her: "And if the Florentines didn't send you, we really have to wonder how a vile woman like you would presume to speak with our lord the pope about such a serious matter."[31]

According to Maconi, Catherine's answers were humble and extremely effective—his emphasis is on the validity of her arguments, more than on her moral stature. Having, in essence, silenced these three in regard to Catherine's views on the papacy, they turned to her ecstasies and her mode of life, reminding her that St Paul wrote that sometimes Satan appears as if an angel of light, and demanding to know how Catherine might not consider herself to have been fooled by the devil. This interrogation, that had begun in mid-afternoon, carried on into the night. During this time, a disciple of Catherine, a master of theology, could not help but interrupt from time to time in order to argue on Catherine's behalf; but eventually, over the course of the night, the interrogators said to him: "You should blush with shame in trying to say such things in front of us. Leave her to reply, because she is greatly more satisfactory in such matters than are you."[32]

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before becoming a cardinal on 30 May 1371; see Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, vol.1 (Munich, 1913), p. 113.

[30] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 269: "'Pater beatissime, numquid ista Catherina de Senis est tante sanctitatis quante dicitur?' Qui respondit: 'Vere credimus eam esse sanctam virginem.' Et ipsi: 'Visitabimus eam si placet vestre sanctitate.' Et respondit: 'Credimus quod eritis bene hedificati.'"

[31] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 269, provides a slightly fuller context of this: "'Ex parte domini nostri pape venimus et audire cupimus, utrum Florentini te mittant uti fama protulit. Et si verum est, numquid non habent aliquem valentem virum, quem pro tanto negotio mittere valeant ad tantum dominum. Si vero te non mirerunt, valde miramur, cum tu sis vilis femella, quia presumis de tanta materia loqui cum domino nostro papa,' et cetera."

[32] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 270: "'Vos erubescere deberetis in conspectu nostro talia proferre. Permittatis eam respondere, quia valde magis satisfacit nobis quam vos.'"

In the end, the three of them—apparently, the three most learned men in the Avignon curia—went to the pope, telling him that they had never known anyone so humble and so illuminated with wisdom and knowledge. This emphasis on wisdom and knowledge is unlike that found in most other canonization processes, where the overwhelming proportion of testimony deals with miraculous cures.[33]

Despite the completely one-sided collation of testimony in the Venetian process, all of it positive in regard to Catherine's sanctity as well as to the legitimacy of the public cult in her regard, Catherine's canonization was not quick in coming; this is surely due mainly to the Great Schism and its after-effects. In the end, it took almost another 50 years for Pope Pius II—a Sienese pope—to canonize his compatriot. He largely relied on Bishop Bembo's process for his evidence, and clearly herded his curia toward the goal of making Catherine a saint. The background for his interest was largely geographical, political, and social: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–64; Pope Pius II from 1458–64) was a member of one of the noble families of Siena.

It was Pius II who defined the official saintly image of Catherine, both in the sermon he preached at her canonization mass and in the bull of canonization he sent to the bishops of the Church. The sermon concentrates on the ways in which the Church ensures that veneration of the faithful is well directed.[34] In the first of its four parts, Pius examines the meaning of the concept of sanctity; in so doing, he not only refers to the Bible but also demonstrates his familiarity with classical literature, by making his very first textual reference not to Virgil or Cicero (although he does refer to them later in the sermon) but to

[33] There is, of course, a tradition of learned or wise saints, and women have a notable place within it. A famous early example is that of Catherine of Alexandria; one closer chronologically and geographically to the Sienese saint would be Chiara da Montefalco. Regarding Chiara, see Carolyn Muessig, "The Community of Discourse. Religious Authority and the Role of Holy Women in the Later Middle Ages," in *Women's Life Experience in Medieval Writing*, eds. Anneke Mulder-Bakker and Liz McAvoy (New York, 2009), pp. 65–81. In addition to this thread of wise women saints, a more recent example of a wise canonized saint was the Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–74; canonized 1323). After a conference paper I delivered in Venice in April 2009 on Catherine's canonization, Michèle Mulcahey raised the possibility of the Dominicans pursuing a type of Dominican sanctity marked by great learning. Despite the hagiographical company kept by Catherine, however, "learned saints" retained a limited presence in the panoply of those deemed to be holy.

[34] Edited by M.-H. Laurent in the appendix to *Processo Castellano*, pp. 513–20. It is also discussed elsewhere in this volume, in the chapter by Carolyn Muessig on the sermons concerning Catherine.

the comparatively obscure Roman jurist of the 1st century BC, Gaius Trebatius Testa, a protegé of Julius Caesar. He says that sanctity ultimately is an immutable beatitude, found in assimilation to God. Pius goes on to say that the cult of saints helps Christians to honor God fully, and to be assisted most efficaciously. Like the Senate did for classical Romans, the Church decides after lengthy consideration who is worthy of veneration. In the sermon's third part, he presents some of the deeds of Catherine's life, noting how her austerities compared favorably not only to the Desert Fathers but also to the brahmins of India. When Catherine's charity and prophetic powers are also considered, Pius can only be full of wondrous admiration for her and also, in passing, for his native city of Siena which recently had another person—Bernardino Albizzeschi, better known as Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444)—canonized (in 1450, under Pope Nicholas V). Pius ends the body of his sermon by noting that although Catherine was dead for about 80 years, she seems to have only just left the living. With calls for her canonization coming from as far as eastern and northern Europe, and considering the signs she left behind, there can be no doubt of her sanctity.

The canonization bull (which was read in its entirety at the canonization mass, and was subsequently distributed throughout Christendom) re-presents similar considerations, but with a different rhetorical emphasis.[35] The entire first third of the bull is a meditation on how humanity continually fails to worship and thank God satisfactorily. Afterward, and perhaps uniquely for a canonization bull, Pius discusses the canonization of someone other than the subject of the text. Here, Pius describes how Siena spiritually nourished Bernardino, and then devotes considerable space to the virtues, deeds, death, and

[35] Pius II, Pope, "Bolla di canonizzazione di S. Caterina da Siena," is edited by M.-H. Laurent in the appendix to *Processo Castellano*, pp. 521–30. An English version of this text (translated from a French version of the original Latin) is in a 19th-century edition of Raymond of Capua's *Life of Saint Catherine of Siena* (Philadelphia, 1860) by the 'Ladies of the Sacred Heart'; this edition appears again in a version published in New York, in 1862. (I am grateful to the anonymous evaluator of the present book for making these English sources known to me.) The narrative style of canonization bulls was conceived such that they could be used as preaching material by those requiring information about the newly canonized saint being discussed; see George Ferzoco, "Sermon Literature Concerning Late Medieval Saints," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons. Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4–7 May 1995)*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp. 127–39.

canonization of the great preacher. When Pius finally gets to discussing Catherine, he notes that she was from the same city as Bernardino, declares her to be in no way inferior to him, and states that her prayers will serve to lessen or remove the faults of the sinners so amply discussed earlier in the bull. Her life was closely linked to the popes of her age, and three popes in particular—Urban VI, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII—wished to canonize her but were unable to do so, mainly due to the great upheavals of the late 14th and early 15th centuries.[36] It was thus a fortunate accident of history that it would be a Sienese pope, Pius himself, who would officially and most happily declare a Sienese woman, Catherine, to be a saint.[37]

However, Pius, in a manner that seems more suited to oral testimony in a court of law than in a written proclamation of the holiness of a new saint, then proceeds to make clear that the canonization of Catherine is not a result of *campanilismo*, or excessive love of one's home town; rather, each and every step of the process has been "by the book": "Even though we were pleased to know that the blessed Catherine, whose canonization was sought, was from Siena, we overlooked nothing concerning what is necessary to effect in such a serious matter."[38] It was not only the Sienese asking for her canonization; many others, such as the Holy Roman Emperor and the

[36] "Bull of canonization," p. 525: "Voluerat Urbanus sextus hunc ei honorem impertiri, et post eum Innocentius septimus ac deinde Gregorius duodecimus, qui huius virginis et sancte conversationis eius precipuam habuere notitiam. Sed vexati perturbatione scismatis, quod eorum tempore viguit et multis bellorum turbinibus ac molestiis agitati, divino, ut credimus, consilio id ommiserunt, ne saeviente divisionis procella quod sacrum una obedientia decrevisset, prophanum altera censuisset."

[37] "Bull of canonization," pp. 525–26: "Dilata est res usque ad tempora nostra, nobisque huius sacerrime virginis canonizatio reservata tanquam conterraneae nostrae atque concivis, ut Senensis virginis sanctitas decreto Senensis hominis in Romana sede sedentis prodiret in lucem. In qua re non imus inficias, affectum nos aliquem sanctum et pium traxisse. Quis est enim qui suae urbis preconia, suae patriae laudes, sui generis virtutes non libenter vulgari procuret, cum id possit et rite et honeste facere? Excellentia facta et illustres virtute homines in omni genere et in omni parte orbis nemo est qui non cupide videat, libentius tamen et maiori cum iocunditate, sua in patria et in sua gente. Et nos quidem Beatae Catherinae sublimes dotes, nobile ingenium, divinam mentem, sacratissimam voluntatem in omni natione quam letissimi vidissemus, laetiores tamen in urbe Senensi quae nos genuit. Siquidem meritorum eius longe magis et magis peculiariter participes esse confidimus quam si virgo haec aut in Africa aut in Scythia, sive in India nata fuisset, neque enim fieri potest quin sanctorum propinquitas aliquid habeat prerogativae."

[38] "Bull of canonization," p. 526: "Quapropter est iocunde audivimus Beatam Catherinam Senensem esse, cuius canonizatio petebatur, non tamen in eius canonizatione quicquam omisimus ex his quae tanta in solemnitate requiruntur."

Doge of Venice, also asked for Catherine to be recognized formally as a saint. Pius notes that when he visited Mantua he was present at a public consistory regarding Catherine's virtues and miracles and was begged to canonize her. Despite pleas such as these, he set out to follow the traditional investigations of a person's sanctity. He appointed three cardinals (one a bishop, one a priest, and the other a deacon) to follow due process and to examine diligently the life and virtues of Catherine and the miracles effected through her, both during and after her lifetime.[39] Following tradition, this was followed by a secret consistory, where the information was transmitted to all the cardinals by the three commissioners. Afterward, they continued their deliberations for more than a year; they also meticulously studied earlier testimony provided by Venetians and others.[40] (This testimony is surely what is found in Bishop Bembo's process; we know that the original copy of this codex, originally from Venice but now in Siena, Basilica cateriniana di San Domenico, was consulted by the commissioners of the canonization process in 1460.)[41] Then, the cardinals met to study all the documentation before the pope ordered that this be discussed in a public consistory. Finally, the pope called together the commissioners, the bishops who collaborated with them, and the cardinals. At this meeting, the cardinal-bishop of Porto—and one-time concurrent in the papal election that brought the three-tiered tiara to Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Guillaume d'Estouteville (1403–83)—presented a summary of the findings of the commissioners. After full and decorous debate, everyone agreed upon the basic facts of Catherine's life, virtues, and miracles; agreed that these had been proved; and agreed that Catherine had to be worthy of heaven. The pope, having heard all

[39] "Bull of canonization," p. 526: "[…] pro veteri consuetudine tribus ex fratribus nostris Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalibus [the cardinals Basilios Bessarion, Alain de Coëtivy and Prospero Colonna] uni episcopo, alteri presbytero, reliquo diacono vivae vocis oraculo commisimus ut debitis habitis processibus de vita et moribus ipsius Catherinae deque miraculis eius, sive in vita, sive post mortem patratis, et de reliquis ad canonizationem necessariis, diligenter inquirerent, nobisque in secreto consistorio, ut moris est, fideleme relationem facerent."

[40] "Bull of canonization," pp. 526–27: "Commissarii per annum et ultra […] rem discutientes inventis processibus antiquis apud Venetos et alibi habitis, examinatisque de novo testibus et summa cum diligentia cunctis ponderatis […]."

[41] See the introduction of M.-H. Laurent to his edition of the *Processo Castellano*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv, for a transcription of a document of 10 January 1460 that was added to the original testimony and demonstrates its use in the deliberations ordered by Pius II.

the discussions, commanded that there be prepared a special platform in St Peter's Basilica in Rome, on which mass would be celebrated, the life of Catherine be read, and the declaration of canonization be pronounced on 29 June (the feast of saints Peter and Paul, which was and remains arguably the greatest civic feast in Rome) 1461.

In the mini-*vita* present in the canonization bull, and which was read aloud at the canonization mass, Pius (as in his canonization sermon) makes no mention of Catherine's stigmata, but there is praise for Catherine's constant prayer, preaching, and works of mercy.[42] Most unusually for a canonization bull, not one miraculous cure is narrated; the only mention of such *in vita* miracles says that many sick and possessed people were taken to her and cured,[43] and the only mention of *post mortem* miracles declares that many infirm people were cured after touching her body.[44]

Throughout the entire process, hagiographers, witnesses, and curialists (including the pope) devoted the overwhelming majority of their attention to matters such as Catherine's deeds and virtues, and especially on the her mystical experiences as well as the positive effect her teachings had on other people. Most atypically for a canonized saint, miraculous cures are comparatively minor in number and in emphasis. Likewise, it was relatively unusual for a late medieval saint to be canonized as long as 80 years after the holy person's death, given that a lengthy and formal (albeit diocesan) canonization process had effectively taken place within a generation of the candidate's passing. In order for Catherine to be made a saint, her process would have to provide testimony that would convince the Roman curia, more than a half century later, of her profound holiness. And this is just what

[42] "Bull of canonization," p. 528: "Reliquum omne tempus vigilando, orando, predicando, opera misericordiae agendo, contrivit." This mention of her preaching reflects what is stated earlier in the bull (p. 528) about her learning: "Doctrina eius infusa non acquisita fuit, prius magistra visa est quam discipula, quippe quae sacrarum literarum professoribus, ipsisque magnarum ecclesiarum episcopis difficillimas de divinitate questiones proponentibus, prudentissime respondit et adeo satisfecit, ut tanquam agnos mansuefactos remiserit, quos tanquam lupos ac leones ferocientes acceperat, quorum nonnulli divinam in virgine sapientiam admirati […]."

[43] "Bull of canonization," p. 529: "Undique ad eam aegroti et malignis vexati spritibus deducebantur et multi curabantur. Langoribus et febribus in Christi nomine imperabat et demones cogebat ab obsessis abire corporibus."

[44] "Bull of canonization," p. 529: "Corpus […] [c]uius tactu plerique aegroti salutem consecuti sunt, adeo ut nonnullis saluti fuerit ea tetigisse, quae sacrata virginis membra tetigere."

the *Processo Castellano* did. Perhaps this partially explains why, if one today goes to study the original manuscript of the *Processo*, which is kept at the Basilica cateriniana di San Domenico in Siena, the codex is not in the library or archive of the place. Instead, it is kept as a venerated object in the chapel dedicated to St Catherine. There, in a reliquary, it rests in a steel box directly under the holy woman's head;[45] and like that head, this manuscript speaks to the faithful, silently yet convincingly, of the sanctity of Caterina Benincasa.

[45] I wish to thank the prior of the Basilica, Alfredo Scarciglia O.P., for providing this information. Given the location of this manuscript, there is no meaningful modern shelfmark that could be assigned to it. Nevertheless, in the manuscript list at the end of this volume it will be referred to as Siena, Basilica cateriniana di San Domenico, Processo castellano.

In the manuscript itself, it is fitting to discover that of the various hands that have over the centuries left traces in the margins of this manuscript, among the largest and most striking comments draw attention to Catherine's head. For example, see fol. 17r, where in the margin one finds in a later script twice the size of the original hand: "Caput virgine est Senis in conventu ordinis Predicatorum in sacrestria [*sic*]." This appears next to the text corresponding to *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 29: "Item dico qualiter ante supradictos XVI annos, ego fui pluribus annis in conventu Senensi ordinis Predicatorum, ubi etiam fui prior, licet indignus, et quod semper annuatim ante et post, usque in presens, celebrata est memoria dicte virginis in dicto conventu, eo modo quo supra; et ubi est etiam huc usque venerabile caput eius in sacristia, at que volumina tam legende et vite sue, quam etiam doctrine posita ad cathenam in libraria dicti conventus."

CHAPTER NINE

CATHERINE OF SIENA IN LATE MEDIEVAL SERMONS

Carolyn Muessig

Considering the numerous sermons written about Catherine of Siena in the late Middle Ages, it is surprising that there has been no major study on this topic.[1] Yet, the sermons dedicated to her comprise a rich variety of themes including praise for her virginity, her public involvement in ecclesiastical matters, and her likeness to Christ. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to provide a preliminary study of sermons written about Catherine of Siena and to evaluate what they tell us about the immediate and subsequent reception of her saintly image. It will assess the development of Catherine of Siena's depiction in sermons from the 14th to the 16th centuries in order to demonstrate how portrayals of her were executed and distributed from the influential medieval pulpit. Nine preachers and their sermons will be examined; these are: the English Augustinian hermit and friend of Catherine of Siena, William Flete (fl. second half of the 14th century); the Dominican architects of Catherine's cult, Caffarini (d. 1434) and Bartolomeo da Ferrara (d. 1448); Pope Pius II (d. 1464); the humanists Agostino Dati (d. 1478) and Domenico De' Domenichi (1478); the 15th-century Franciscan bishop of Aquino, Robert Caracciolo (d. 1495); and the Dominican preachers Gabriel Bruni of Barletta (died after 1480) and Guillaume Pépin (d. 1533).[2]

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[1] For two studies on this largely untapped area of research, see Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratorio in Laudem Beatissimae Catherinae de Senis*, ed. Antonio Piolanti, Textus Breviores Theologiam et Historiam Spectantes 6 (Vatican City, 1972); sermon on pp. 17–38; Gerardo Cappelluti, "S. Caterina da Siena in alcuni *Sermones* del secolo XV," in *Congresso Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani. Siena—Roma—24–29 Aprile 1980* (Rome, 1981), pp. 483–522. I am grateful to Eliana Corbari and Beverly Kienzle for bringing these works to my attention.

[2] I am grateful to Alison Frazier who let me read a pre-publication version of her "Humanist Lives of Catherine of Siena: Latin Prose Narratives on the Italian Peninsula (1461–1500)," in *The Making of A Saint: Catherine of Siena*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Gabriella Signori, forthcoming. Frazier contextualizes the sermons of Pope Pius II, Agostino Dati, and Domenico De' Domenichi on Catherine of Siena within the trends of humanist rhetoric.

The earliest extant sermon about Catherine has been attributed to William Flete, who was one of Catherine's close friends.[3] He wrote this sermon in 1382, just two years after her death;[4] its prolixity implies that the sermon was for reading rather than preaching. It begins, "May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with us. With great devotion let us celebrate the feast day of the passing of the glorious virgin, Catherine of Siena."[5] The tone clearly promotes the certainty of Catherine's sanctity; but William would have to wait almost 80 years before Catherine's official canonization.

The sermon contains several precedents for many themes that we will see repeated in pastoral literature on Catherine for the next 200 years. William identifies Catherine primarily as the virginal spouse of Christ. Her extreme devotional practices are praised: in particular her fasting, her bodily mortifications, and prayer. William also compares her to St Paul, a comparison repeated throughout the sermon. The first time this is mentioned she is called "a disciple of Paul."[6] Her peripatetic

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[3] Two copies of William Flete's sermon are found in manuscripts associated with Caffarini's endeavors to have Catherine of Siena canonized (Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, XIV.24 and Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.7). Its presence in manuscripts that Caffarini compiled made Fawtier too suspicious to accept William Flete as its author. Caffarini wrote numerous sermons on Catherine as we will see, so why he would endeavor to attribute this particular sermon to William Flete and not claim it as his own, is not clarified by Fawtier. William Flete will be presented as the author of this sermon in the present study. See Robert Fawtier, *Saint Catherine de Sienne: Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 1, *Sources hagiographiques* (Paris, 1921), pp. 74–75.

[4] Benedict Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena: Masters of Fourteenth-Century Spirituality*, The Augustinian Series 15 (Villanova, 1992), p. 185: "Here begins a sermon on the revered Saint Catherine of Siena composed about the year 1382 by a great servant called William of England." Translations from this sermon all come from Hackett. The sermon is found on pp. 185–221. For the Latin sermon, see Robert Fawtier, "Catheriniana," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 34.1 (1914), 3–95, the sermon is found at pp. 40–75: "Incipit sermo in reverentiam beatae Katherinae de Senis compositus circa annum Domini MCCCLXXXII per quemdam magnum servum Dei anglicum, qui vocatus est frater Guilielmus de Anglia."

[5] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, p. 185. For the Latin sermon, see Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 40: "Sanctis Spiritus adsit nobis gratia. Diem festum transitus gloriosae virginis Caterinae Senensis non in lacrimis sed in laudibus et canticis devotissime celebremus."

[6] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, pp. 185–86: "She preserved her virginal integrity for him alone, for her body was a temple of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit dwelled in her. No wonder, since by crucifying her flesh to an unbelievable extent by fasting, vigils, the discipline, and prayer she dedicated and consecrated her virginity to God. A true disciple of Paul she could rightly say: 'I chastise my body and bring it into subjection, lest perhaps when I have preached virginity or chastity *I should be condemned myself*' (1 Cor. 9:27). Toward the things of the flesh she

ministry, her eloquent speaking, and her call to lead people to salvation also invite William to call her "Paula."[7] Catherine is the female counterpart to Paul because she is a letter writer and preacher: "In her letters and writings, in her knowledge and teaching, she was not Paul but a Paula: a teacher of teachers, a pastor of pastors, an abyss of wisdom—the high-sounding flute was revealed to her—and untiring preacher of truth."[8] Furthermore, she was a defender of the papacy. She promoted the idea of crusade against the Saracens and supported the authority of the papacy, while criticizing those schismatic cardinals who went against Pope Urban VI.[9] So Catherine not only possessed the classic hallmarks of female asceticism but was also presented as a preacher, a writer, a strong papal supporter, and a denouncer of schismatics.

These remarkable attributes of female sanctity are enhanced when William portrays Catherine as a *mediatrix* and earthly angel who can

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was unfeeling, dead, mortified, and thus she offered herself as a living victim acceptable to God." See Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 41: "Ipsi soli servavit virginitatis fidem, quia corpus suum templum fuit Spiritus Sancti et Spiritus Sanctus habitabat in eam. Nec mirum quia carnem suam supra humanam aestimationis crucifigens abstinentiis, vigiliis, disciplinis et orationibus, virginitatem suam Deo dedicavit ac consecravit, merito tamquam vera discipula sancti Pauli dicere potuit: 'Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo ne forte eum aliis virginitatem seu castitatem predicaverim ipsa reproba efficiar.' Et sic se ispam ad omnem mortum carnis insensibilem mortuam ac mortificatam, tanquam hostiam vivam Deo placentem."

[7] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, p. 198: "Where now is the journeying of that Paula and the toil of her holy feet, running to various parts of the world for the sake of the Church of God and the salvation of all? Where is the mouth which gave advice and the tongue which spoke out against vices and sins? The Lord *placed her tongue like a sharp* (Is. 49:2) sword in the midst of the Church; she opened her mouth and the Lord filled her with a spirit of wisdom and understanding, and clothed her with a robe of immortal glory." See Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 53: "Ubi est modo cursus istius Paulae et labor sanctorum pedum ejus pro Ecclesia Dei ac salute humana ad varias mundi partes discurrens! Ubi est os consulens et lingua eloquens contra vitia et peccata? Posuit Dominus os suum ut gladium acutum in medio Ecclesiae; aperuit os suum et implevit eam Dominus spiritu sapientiae et intellectus, stola gloriae immortalis induit eam."

[8] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, p. 195. Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 51: "In litteris suis sive scriptis, in scientia et doctrina non Paulus sed una Paula fuit: doctrix doctorum, pastor pastorum, abyssus sapientiae, sibi revelata est fistula altisona, predicatrix veritatis infatigabilis."

[9] "And so all things considered, you [Catherine] indeed completed your crusade in the Holy Land, in the midst of the Saracens, struck down by the sword of suffering, while defending the Catholic faith of the Church and preaching our Lord Urban VI to be the true Pope." Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, p. 187. Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 43: "Omnibus consideratis, in Terra Sancta, in medio Saracenorum, fidem catholicam Ecclesiae defendendo, et dominum Urbanum sextum verum papam, predicando, gladio passionis percussa, cum magistro tuo Paulo, passagium tuum complevisti."

assist Christ in the salvation of world. Her perpetual suffering is for the sake of others.[10] Catherine's extraordinary abilities as *mediatrix* result from her union with and transformation into Christ. William provides a detailed account of how Catherine transformed into Christ when taking communion:

> At this time it was Christ who ate her, that is, drew her into himself; in wondrous and overpowering love there came about a spiritual union with her spouse, for love joins together and he who clings to God becomes one spirit with God, hearing with Saint Augustine a voice from on high saying: "Grow and you shall eat me; and you shall not change me into you like the food of your flesh, but you shall change into me (*Confessions*, VII, 16)." Thus, often outside communion, but especially at communion time, she remained not in herself but in Christ, for she had been changed and transformed into Christ. This mystery was externally visible, for often the appearance of her face would change: sometimes she had the face of a virgin, sometimes that of a man, and looked on her sons in a sharp and manly way, almost striking terror into them; sometimes in her raptures she had the face of an angel, the face of a Seraph. What was the source of this change of appearance? It arose from her fellowship with the Lord who walked in the midst of her heart. Her heart was so inflamed, so burning with love for her spouse that in its love it had been transformed into the nature of what it loved. The face of Moses, that is, of our mother, became radiant from fellowship with the Lord: as the prophet says, *He shall change them and they shall be changed* (Ps. 102:28). It was by divine power that that miraculous change of appearance came about, through the union of her spirit with her God, a union which brought forth many miracles.[11]

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[10] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, p. 192: "In every tribulation then, let our help be through her, as if through a mediatrix, *in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth* (Ps. 124:8), and who made her a heavenly woman crowned in heaven, and an earthly angel, living an angelic life on earth, as much for the freedom of the Church as for our salvation." Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 47: "In omni ergo tribulatione per ipsam, tanquam per mediatricem, adjutorium nostrum sit in nomine Domini qui fecit celum et terram, qui eam fecit mulierem celestem in celsi coronatam, et angelam terrestrem in terris angelicam habentem conversationem, tam pro liberatione Ecclesiae quam pro nostra salute."

[11] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, pp. 200–01. Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 56: "Christus comedebat ipsam, id est trajiciebat ipsam in se ipsum, et ex miranda et superexcellenti caritate facta est conjunctio spiritus cum sponso suo, quia caritas conjungit et qui adheret Deo unus spiritus efficitur cum Deo, tanquam audiret cum beato Augustino vocem de excelso: 'Cresce et manducabis me nec tu me mutabere in te sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me.' Sic ipsa frequenter extra communionem, sed maxime tempore communionis, non quidem in se sed in Christo remansit, quia in Christum transmutata et transformata erat. Misterium apparet exterius, quia frequenter speciem faciei suae mutabat; modo habuit faciem vir-

William's description of Catherine's transformation into Christ is reminiscent of the way Catherine understood her stigmata. For example, William tells the reader that her five wounds, although invisible, were excruciating. He relates that when he asked Catherine how she could bear the pain of the wounds, she replied: "It is not I who live: Christ lives in me (Gal. 2:20)."[12]

Soon after William completed his sermon, we detect a growing insistence for her canonization. The main push for this was centered not in Siena but in Venice, where the leaders of the Observant Dominicans were based; it was they who were among her most avid supporters, and from among these, Caffarini was at the forefront of the promotion of Catherine's sanctity.[13] In the Observant Dominicans' attempt to have Catherine canonized, they preached numerous sermons. In so doing, a tradition grew up quickly of preaching about Catherine on the feast days of Philip and James (1 May), the Invention of the True Cross (3 May), the Crown of Thorns (May 4), and on St John before the Latin Gate (6 May)—feasts which were close to the anniversary of her death (29 April).

A well documented case of this occurred on the feast day of the Invention of the Cross, Sunday, 3 May 1411, when the Observant Dominican Bartolomeo da Ferrara preached at his Order's church of San Zanipolo in Venice.[14] Bartolomeo da Ferrara dedicated a large

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gineam, modo pretendebat faciem virilem, viriliter et acute respexit filios suos quasi ineutiendo eis terrorem; aliquando in raptu pretendebat faciem angelicam, faciem unius Seraphim. Unde facta est ista mutatio faciei? Ex consortio Domini deambulantis in medio cordis sui. Cor suum tantum inflammatum erat, tantum ardebat in amore sponsi sui quod cor amans transmutatum erat in naturam rei amatae. Splendida facta est facies Moysi, id est matris nostrae, ex consortio Domini, dicit Propheta *mutabit eos et mutabantur*. Virtute divina miraculose fiebat ista mutatio faciei ex conjunctione spiritus cum Deo suo. Circa conjunctionem suam multa apparebant miracula." Achard de Saint-Victor (d. 1172) comments, in a sermon on Augustine's *Confessions* VII.16, on how humanity can become similar to God. See Achard of Saint-Victor, *Sermons inédits: Texte latin avec introduction, notes, et table*, ed. Jean Chatillon (Paris, 1970), pp. 101–07.

[12] Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena*, p. 195. See Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 50; "Non vivo ego, vivit in me Christus." If this sermon reflects what was indeed written down originally in 1382, this may be the first concrete description of her stigmata discussed in writing, as Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* of Catherine was completed sometime between 1385 and 1395.

[13] For a bibliography of Caffarini's life and works, see Thomas Kaeppeli and Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols (Rome, 1970–1993), 4:329–30. Caffarini is listed as Thomas Antonii Naccii de Senis.

[14] For a bibliography on Bartolomeo da Ferrara, see Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 2:149.

portion of this sermon to discussing Catherine of Siena, which resulted in his being called before the bishop of Venice, Francesco Bembo, to defend his sermonizing on the uncanonized Catherine. It was decided that an investigation should be established to examine Catherine's potential sanctity, which resulted in the production of the *Processo Castellano*.[15] Bartolomeo provides an account in the *Processo Castellano* of the sermon that he preached on 3 May 1411. The sermon's theme was Galatians 5:11: "Then is the scandal of the church made void." Bartolomeo informs us:

> I spoke about the many distinctions and species of the Holy Cross both pertaining in diverse ways spiritually and mystically to the virtues and the transgression of virtues, and in very many ways I applied this to the virgin [Catherine of Siena].[16]

When he preached about Catherine of Siena and her relation to the Cross, he dwelt on the transformative power of the crucifix to lead humanity to perfection. Bartolomeo explains that many times the crucified Christ appeared to Catherine, and these apparitions reflected her conformity to Christ and her devotion to his passion on the Cross, whereby she received from him many graces and wonders. It is within this context that she received the stigmata:

> Many other times Jesus Christ appeared to her crucified. During such apparitions, one saw how she was conformed and devoted to the passion and the cross of Christ…Several times it is noted how this virgin before the sacrament of the altar, in which the passion and the cross of Christ is commemorated, was taken by such great devotion…such that many miraculous events happened when the virgin was eating the body of the Lord. Among these stands out this event, that once, after the virgin took communion in the church of Saint Cristina in Pisa where she happened to be, Christ appearing to her on the Cross…impressed onto her his stigmata in a miraculous way.[17]

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[15] For an edition of this work, see *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la Canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942). For further discussion of *Il Processo Castellano*, see George Ferzoco, "The *Processo Castellano* and the Canonization of Catherine of Siena" in this volume.

[16] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 10: "Item, dixi, de multis distinctionibus et speciebus S. Crucis etiam spiritualibus et misticis ad virtutes et earum excessum diversimode pertinentibus, et quamplures huic virgini applicavi." Bartolomeo's sermon is presented on pp. 10–21 of the *Processo Castellano*.

[17] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 15–16: "Preterea etiam pluries apparauit sibi Ihesus Christus crucifixus, ex quibus apparitionibus relucebat, quam videli-

Catherine's conformity to Christ is ultimately marked in the form of the stigmata.

Often preaching alongside Bartolomeo da Ferrara was Caffarini. This Sienese Dominican, who had known Catherine in Siena, was the most active figure in the promotion of her cult.[18] In the *Processo Castellano*, Caffarini provides rare details of how preachers tried to introduce a devout but still uncanonized candidate into a sermon. He explains that he used to preach sermons about Catherine of Siena's "life and virtues" before large devout audiences in the Venetian churches of San Crisostomo and San Zanipolo and in the monastery of Corpus Domini.[19] He indicates that by the time of the preparation of the *Processo Castellano*, he had been preaching about Catherine of Siena for 16 years. This preaching would occur sometimes twice a day, in two different churches, before large and eager audiences.[20] On the feast of St John before the Latin Gate (6 May), he would preach about Catherine's similarities to John the Evangelist, listing their mutual traits: how they both lived according to the gospel and followed Christ; how they preached the word of God; how they wrote about Christ—he in his gospel and letters, she in her letters and the *Dialogo*; how they preserved their virginity; how they mortified their flesh; and how they ultimately entered

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cet conformis esset et affecta passioni et cruci Christi…Pluries declaratur qualiter virgo erga altaris sacramentum, in quo passionis et crucis Christi memoria signanter recolitur…tam excessiva devotione extitit affecta, ut quamplurima miranda in sumptione dominici corporis in sacramento ipsi virgini evenirent. Inter que unum fuit quod sumpto semel per virginem Sacramento in ecclesia S. Christine de Pisis, cum ipsa esset ibidem, et hoc quodam mane diei dominice, apparens sibi Christus veluti cruci affixus…stigmata sua sibi modo miro impressit."

[18] Gaudenz Freuler, "Andrea di Bartolo, Fra Tommaso d'Antonio Caffarini, and Sienese Dominicans in Venice," *The Art Bulletin* 69.4 (1987), 570–86, p. 572. Caffarini's efforts to promote Catherine's cult became quite vigorous after his posting to Venice in 1394, where he was overseer of the nuns at the Corpus Domini convent.

[19] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 31: "Et quod similiter tam in dicta ecclesia, quam in cathedrali et Apostolorum, SS. Iohannis et Pauli et monasterii Corpus Christi, etiam quampluries predicavi de vita et virtutibus istius virginis B. Catherine de Senis cum assistentia non parvi populi, et magne devotionis cunctorum." Here, the monastery is referred to as Corpus Christi.

[20] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 31: "In decursu etiam supradictorum XVI annorum et ultra in quibus fui in Venetiis, contigit huc usque quod omni anno in dicto conventu vel alibi ego predicavi de ista virgine in die sue commemorationis venientis aliquando in die apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi, aliquando in festo Corone Domini, et pluries in die Inventionis S. Crucis, et etiam S. Iohannis ante Portam Latinam, predicando etiam aliquotiens bina vice et in duabus ecclesiis in prefate commemorationis die, cum non parva quantitate populi ac aviditate ad huiusmodi predicationes audiendas convenientis."

heaven.[21] Caffarini also mentioned Lenten sermons that he delivered in the year 1396 in the church of San Zanipolo; Catherine of Siena was the focus of this sermon cycle which he fashioned to themes dealing with the properties of "the seraphic crucifix" and "divine love."[22] The seraphic crucifix in particular was an allusion to the seraphic crucifix associated with Francis's stigmata.[23] Caffarini explains:

> I say that I preached not only the three days of Easter, but also for the whole preceding Lenten season in the aforementioned church of San Zanipolo, about this virgin's similarity to the seraphic crucifix that seraphically appeared to Francis one day, and especially how this seraphic woman was an imitator of the seraphic crucifix of Christ.[24]

Although Caffarini evokes the Franciscan moment of stigmatization, he compares Catherine not to Francis but to the angel, indicating that Catherine possessed a seraphic nature, that is, one of ardent charity.

Caffarini wrote many homiletic discourses on Catherine.[25] One of his sermons, entitled "In memory of the admirable and young virgin Catherine of Siena," captures a moment when he was trying to convince the wider Christian community that Catherine was indeed

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[21] See *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 253–54.

[22] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 31: "In dicto conventu SS. Iohannis et Pauli ego per totam unam quadragesimam cum festis pascalibus, me tunc existente predicatore dicti conventus, die qualibet dicte quadragesime de dicte virgina specialiter predicavi, adaptando materiam cuiuslibet evangelii ad materiam alicuius conditionis vel proprietatis seraphici crucifixi ac divini amoris reperte sive existentis in virgine prelibata, quod fuit anno Domini M.CCC.XVCI." A summary of this sermon collection is in Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV.24, fols 204v–205v.

[23] For a discussion of the influences of the association of images of Francis's stigmatization, in particular the seraph and the crucifix, with Catherine's, see Milliard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1978), p. 121.

[24] See *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 59: "Item dico, qualiter non solum in tribus diebus dominice Resurrectionis prefate, sed etiam per totam precedentem quadragesimam in prefato conventu SS. Iohannis et Pauli, ego de virgine ista sub similitudine seraphici crucifixi S. Francisco seraphice apparentis cotidie aliquid tamquam de seraphica et Christi seraphici crucifixi ymitatrice precipua predicavi." The theme of seraphic crucifix is also discussed in detail by Caffarini on pp. 245–47.

[25] In *Processo Castellano*, much of Caffarini's testimony appears to be summaries of sermons that he preached about Catherine. See *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. 27–256. Another of his sermons on Catherine in two redactions entitled "Recensio vetus" and "Recensio Nova" can be found in Caffarini, *Sanctae Catharinae Senensis Legenda Minor*, ed. Ezio Franceschini, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 10 (Milan, 1942), pp. 182–91. See also Caffarini's *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974) which contains material from sermons he preached on Catherine.

saintly material.[26] To do this, his sermon relied on the renown of the Cistercians. In particular, he looked to the reputation of Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), as almost two-thirds of "In memory of the admirable and young virgin Catherine of Siena" is adapted from Geoffrey of Auxerre's 1163 anniversary sermon commemorating the death of Bernard of Clairvaux. Geoffrey of Auxerre preached this sermon during his abbacy of Clairvaux (1162–65).[27] A comparison demonstrates the close parallels between the two sermons. Geoffrey begins his sermon on Bernard as follows: "How sweet, today, most beloved brothers, ought to be the paternal memory, how lovable, how acceptable, how joyful, how celebrated."[28] Caffarini echoes Geoffrey's words:

> Today, dearly beloved, how sweet ought to be the maternal memory of this kind and admirable virgin, Catherine of Siena, to all pious minds but especially to her sons if they should still be alive, how lovable, how acceptable, how celebrated, how joyful![29]

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[26] Cappelluti listed this sermon as "anonymous." He posited that it was written by a Sienese follower of Catherine in the late 14th century. See Cappelluti, "S. Caterina da Siena in alcuni *Sermones* del secolo XV," pp. 487–90. The same sermon is attributed to Caffarini in a late 15th-century German manuscript, München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. MS 123, 147ra–147vb. For a description of the manuscript, see Natalia Daniel, Gisela Kornrumpf, Gerhard Schott, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Folioreihe*, Hälfte 1 (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 195–98. (Three other sermons on Catherine of Siena also are contained in this manuscript.) The sermon "In memory of the admirable and young virgin Catherine of Siena" also appears in another 15th-century manuscript, Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat.IX.192, where it immediately follows Caffarini's *Legenda minor*. (The *Legenda minor* falls on fols 1ra–45ra, and the sermon appears on fols 45ra–46vb). The author of the sermon indicates that he knew Catherine. The foregoing points indicate that Caffarini could have been the possible author; therefore, in this present study, it will be attributed to him. For a printed edition of the sermon, see "Sermo in commemoracione admirabilis novelle virginis beate Katherine de Senis," in Antonio della Rocca (d. 1448), *Legenda abbreviata di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. A. Saba, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 15 (Siena, 1939), pp. 41–46. In regard to the sermon's internal evidence which indicates that the preacher knew Catherine, the preacher of the sermon stated that he had seen and heard her, although he was unworthy. See Caffarini, "Sermo in commemoracione admirabilis novelle virginis beate Katherine de Senis," in della Rocca, *Legenda abbreviata*, p. 42: "Ex quibus unus ego fui licet immeritus et indignus."

[27] Gaufridi Abbatis Clarae-Vallensis, "IV Sermo in anniversario obitus s. Bernardi," in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina* [PL] 185, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols 573–597. Abbot Geoffrey of Clairvaux was also known as Geoffrey of Auxerre (c. 1120–95).

[28] Gaudfridus Abbatis Clarae-Vallensis, "Sermo in anniversario obitus s. Bernardi," PL 185, col. 573C: "Quam dulcis hodie, dilectissimi filii, paterna debet esse memoria! quam amabilis, quam acceptabilis, quam jucunda, quam celebris!"

[29] Caffarini, "Sermo in commemoracione admirabilis novelle virginis beate Katherine de Senis," in della Rocca, *Legenda abbreviata*, p. 41: "Hodie, dilectissimi, huius

Caffarini's choice to appropriate Geoffrey's sermon was multifaceted. In addition to lending gravitas to the tone of Catharine's sanctity, the context in which Geoffrey's sermon was originally preached is significant—he delivered it 11 years before Bernard's official canonization on 18 January 1174. This provided Caffarini with a persuasive precedent to preach about the still uncanonized Catherine.[30]

Caffarini, however, did not stick entirely to the Cistercian script. Toward the end of the sermon, he became more daring when he discussed Catherine's mystical ecstasies and her reception of the stigmata. He explained that, in addition to seeing "mental and hidden" images of God, she also felt the impression of the five wounds of Christ, which flowed in threads of blood and light to the five points of her body which caused her great pain.[31]

Caffarini was treading on delicate ground to claim that Catherine bore the stigmata, as many Franciscans argued that only their founder, Francis of Assisi, miraculously received the five wounds of Christ.[32] Caffarini's clear identification of Catherine as a stigmatic saint who

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alme et admirabilis virginis Katarine de Senis quam dulcis omnibus piis mentibus sed presertim filiis si qui adhuc superessent materna debet esse memoria, quam amabilis, quam acceptabilis, quam celebris, quam iocunda."

[30] Caffarini appropriates another Cistercian precedent of preaching about an uncanonized subject in the same sermon when he alludes to Bernard preaching about Bishop Malachy; the bishop had died suddenly while visiting Clairvaux on 2 November 1148. Bernard gave a sermon immediately after Malachy's death—decades before the bishop was canonized on 6 July 1199. Caffarini justifies Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching on Malachy and his own on Catherine because of the rareness of contemporary saintly models, when he says: "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux asserted how truly destitute it was in his time by preaching on Saint Malachy, and too we no less are able to affirm the same indigence or rarity." See Caffarini, "Sermo in commemoracione admirabilis novelle virginis beate Katherine de Senis," in della Rocca, *Legenda abbreviata*, pp. 41–42: "Quam sane inopiam quemadmodum tempore suo de sancto Malachia sermoncinando sanctus Bernardus, asseruit, ita et nos non minus eandem indigentiam seu raritatem affirmare valeamus."

[31] Caffarini, "Sermo in commemoracione admirabilis novelle virginis beate Katherine de Senis," in della Rocca, *Legenda abbreviata*, p. 44: "…nec solum apparitiones mentales archanaque Dei videndi sed adhuc percipiendi inter alia impressiones quinque a crucifixo per modum stigmatum emanantes mediantibus lineis tam sanguineis quam radiosis erga quinque loca corporis virginalis cum doloribus sensibilibus et immensissimis…"

[32] For example, in a *quodlibet*, the Franciscan Petrus Thomae (d. c. 1340) argued that no one other than Francis had received the stigmata and that this had been affirmed by the papacy. See Gaudens E. Mohan, "Petrus Thomae on the Stigmata of St Francis," *Franciscan Studies* 8 (1948), 285–94, the Quodlibet appears on pp. 286–94. "Quod solus Franciscus habuit hujusmodi Stigmata…Romana Ecclesia nullum alium dicit Stigmata habuisse" (p. 292).

invisibly bore the marks of the passion ultimately turned into a 200-year debate between the Dominicans and Franciscans regarding the legitimacy of this claim.[33]

While the sermons and various testimonies of Caffarini and other followers of Catherine of Siena did not result in her immediate canonization, they did help pave the way for her eventual recognition as a saint. This is evident in Pope Pius II's heavy reliance on the nearly half-century old *Processo Castellano* in investigating Catherine's case for sanctity. Pius II's investigation resulted in her canonization on 29 June 1461.[34]

Pope Pius II, on the occasion of Catherine's canonization, provided the first sermon delivered about her as an official saint in which he argued that she was more ascetic than any biblical, monastic, or even Brahmin predecessor:

> We wonder at Moses and Elias who fasted for forty days, this virgin conducted a fast from Ash Wednesday to Pentecost, being content with the Eucharist alone. We wonder at the abstinence of Antony, Paul, Macarius and Hilarion who ate only herbs and vegetables. This virgin's food was very meager, for nearly eight years with a little bit of liquid from herbs she was sustained by taking too little of it. Do we wonder at the Brahmins, the gymnosophists of India, who suffer to endure the winter and summer naked? This very great virgin suffered under her clothing, lying on a hard bed she could not sleep day or night, nor did she give a fraction of her time to rest.[35]

But Pius II, in addition to citing her ascetic excellence, also dwells on Catherine's distinguishing attributes of active ministry normally

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[33] See Diega Giunta, "The Iconography of Catherine of Siena's Stigmata," in this volume. See also Carolyn Muessig, "The Stigmata Debate in Theology and Art in the Late Middle Ages," in *Authority of the Word*, eds. Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati, and Karl Enenkel (Leiden, 2012), pp. 481–504. I am presently writing a monograph on the history of the stigmata in the Middle Ages.

[34] See *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, pp. xlix, 486–87, 498.

[35] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 518: "Miramur Moysen et Eliam qui quadraginta dierum ieiunia tolerarunt, haec virgo a die cineris usque ad Pentecosten ieiunia produxit, sola eucharistiae communione contenta. Miramur Antoniorum, Paulorum, Machariorum et Hilariorum abstinentiam, qui solis aut oleribus aut leguminibus victuarunt. Huius virginis tenuior cibus extitit, quae per annos ferme octo minimo herbarum succo, eoque parum retento sustentata est. Miramur bragmanos Indiae gymnosophistas, quos ferunt frigus et aestum pertulisse nudos? Maiora haec virgo sub veste perpessa est, quae strato iacens duro, dies ac noctes ducebat insomnes, nec vigesimam partem sui temporis quieti dabat." The expression that "she suffered under her clothing" may refer to the hairshirt that Catherine wore. Antony, Paul, Macarius, and Hilarion were Desert Fathers.

not associated with accounts of female sanctity. In particular he discusses her role as peacemaker, especially in regard to her relationship with the papacy: "For the peace of the Florentines she traveled all the way to Avignon. And it is appropriate for the Italians to give her thanks, through her work she returned the Roman curia to them."[36] What interests him is Catherine as both advocate and ascetic. Perhaps this is why he does not discuss her stigmata in the canonization sermons, as this could have potentially distracted the audience's focus from her energetic holiness. Furthermore, Pius II most likely wished to avoid explicit mention of this in the sermon, as during this time the Dominicans and Franciscans were fiercely debating the meaning of the stigmata.

The great orator and one-time bishop of Torcello and then Brescia, Domenico De' Domenichi,[37] delivered a sermon on Catherine of Siena before Pius II on 2 May 1463 in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. The sermon was an *oratio*—a genre of sermon, which usually breaks up its topic into various sub themes, normally following one general idea or subject.[38] The idea in this sermon was Catherine as civic hero. As in Pius II's sermon, the active ministry and ascetic qualities of Catherine are highlighted. Furthermore, the tensions and controversies in her life are not entirely glossed over. Domenico tells us that Catherine had detractors who harshly criticized her actions. But he does not dwell on this and states that she won them over with her elegant words.[39]

The sermon's theme is John 10:27: "My flock hears my voice." Catherine is portrayed as one who imitated the Lord: "It seems to us how this little sheep, thick and fattened from all graces, Catherine heard the voice of the good Shepherd and followed him."[40] Domenico lists her

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[36] *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent, p. 518: "Pro pace Florentinorum usque in Avenionem profecta est. Ipsique gratias habere Italos decet, per cuius operam Romana curia ad eos reddit."

[37] See Hubert Jedin, *Studien über Domenico de Domenichi, 1416–1478* (Wiesbaden, 1959); and Martin Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism, and the Theology and Preaching of Domenico de' Domenichi in the Italian Renaissance* (Lampeter, 2003), pp. 11–38.

[38] For the sermon, see Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, pp. 17–38. For a detailed description of *orationes*, see Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism, and the Theology and Preaching of Domenico de' Domenichi*, pp. 31–54.

[39] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, pp. 34–35.

[40] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 21: "Videndum igitur nobis est quemadmodum haec ovicula nostra, immo pinguis et saginata omnium gratiarum, Catherina boni Pastoris audierit vocem ipsumque sit secuta."

ascetic practices, which include virginity and fasting.[41] He also cites her practice of the discipline, in order to expiate the sins of the living, whereby she would use an iron chain on her back until it was blue and would flow with blood.[42] She was venerated as a glorious virgin, bride of Christ; a robe of virtues, a mirror of prudence and example of humility.[43]

Although the stigmata are not explicitly mentioned by Domenico, they are implied in a few places in the sermon. For example, Domenico describes Catherine's refusal to marry as her crucifying the flesh.[44] The most explicit reference to the stigmata is a vivid description of her praying before a crucifix. Domenico does not actually say that she received the stigmata, but by contemplating the wounds of Christ after taking the Eucharist, she was transformed:

> When, however, she would receive the communion of the holy Eucharist… then O good Jesus, she emitted groans, weeping, sighs, with these tears she used to fill her lap so that it was a real wonder that her eyes did not dry out. Then positioned before the body of the Lord, she used to obey what Jeremiah said: [Lam. 2:19] "Pour out thy heart like water, before the face of the Lord: lift up thy hands to him."
>
> Then it seemed to her that she saw her Spouse hanging on a cross, she contemplated his pierced hands, his affixed feet, his open side and the blood dripping just as if it were still warm.
>
> Then the aromatic prayer of devotion used to pour forth, all was released in lament: [Cant. 4:6]: "I will go to the mountain of myrrh, and to the hill of frankincense," namely to the mountain of bitterness and prayer. Let this dove stay [Cant. 2:14] "in the clefts of the rock, in the hollow places of the wall" [1 Cor. 10:4]: "and the rock was Christ." The

[41] In regard to virginity, see Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 21: "Naturam vincere et perpetuam servare virginitatem novit." In regard to fasting, see p. 26: "Cum haec post suae aetatis annum vigesimum et panis usum dimiserit et cottum aliquid accepisse luxuriam putaverit." Like Pius II, he also makes allusions to her surpassing the Brahmins in ascetic practices (p. 26).

[42] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 27: "Quid quod loro et aculeis aut et catena ferrea singulis diebus semel et iterum ac tertio scapulas et dorsum flagellabat, ut livor ille ac fluens sanguinis non solum pro se verum etiam pro vivis et vita functis expiatio fieret compleretque in se quod Apostolus dicebat: [Col. 1:24] 'Adimpleo quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea, pro corpore eius quod est Ecclesia?'"

[43] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 19: "Tu virgo inclyta, tu Christi sponsa, tu stola virtutum, speculum pudicitiae, humilitatis exemplum."

[44] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 21: "Abnegaret naturalem nubendi appetitum et cum vitiis et cum concupiscentiis carnem suam crucifigeret."

> dove enters into the nail perforations, the dove penetrates the hollow of the side.
>
> How much in these [wounds] did she discover the multitude of sweetness, the perfection of grace, and the plentitude of virtues! Then transformed [2 Cor. 3:18]: "from clarity into clarity just as by the spirit of the Lord," she perceived afterwards her Spouse rising, ascending to the clouds, sitting at the right hand of the Father, she was with the choir of saints, she clung to the host of angels, she heard the voice [Ps. 117:15] "of exultation and of salvation in the tabernacle of the just."[45]

Domenico's emphasis on Catherine's transformation into Christ is reminiscent of the language used by William Flete, Bartolomeo da Ferrara, and Caffarini in their descriptions of her transformation and ultimate reception of the stigmata. However, in Domenico's account, Catherine's enters into the wounds of Christ, rather than the wounds of Christ entering her body.

But Catherine's mystical transformation is not the end point for Domenico. He focuses ultimately on Catherine not in an ecstatic swoon but in action, helping the community. She carries out works of mercy by assisting the poor, by serving the sick, by clothing the naked with the shirt off her own back, by lifting up the afflicted, by consoling the sorrowful, and by reconciling those divided even while she faded from hunger because of her fasting, but nevertheless remained anxious for

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[45] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, pp. 30–31: "Cum autem ad sacram Eucharistiae communionem accederet…tunc, Iesu bone, quos gemitus, quos singultus, quae suspiria emittebat, quibus lacrimis sinum implebat, ut mirum certe fuerit unde ille oculis sufficeret humor. Tunc ante corpus Domini posita, Ieremiae obtemperabat dicenti: [Lam. 2:19]: '*Effunde sicut aquam cor tuum ante conspectum Domini, leva ad eum manus tuas*.'

Tunc Sponsum suum in cruce pendentem sibi videre videbatur, perfossas manus, confixos pedes, apertum latus, stillantem sanguinem et quasi adhuc calentem intuebatur.

Oratio tunc piae devotionis fundebat aromata, tota resolvebatur in lamenta: *Si vadit ad montem myrrae et ad collem thuris*, amaritudinis videlicet et orationis. Stat haec columba *in foraminibus petrae*, *in caverna maceriae*; *petra autem erat Christus*. Intrat fixuras clavorum, penetrat cavernam lateris.

Quantum in his reperit multitudinem dulcedinis, perfectionem gratiae plenitudinemque virtutum! Tunc transformata [2 Cor. 3:18] *de claritate in claritatem tamquam a Domini spiritu*, conspicit postea Sponsum resurgentem, ascendentem ad caelos, sedentem ad dexteram Patris, immiscetur Sanctorum choris, inhaeret agmnibus Angelorum, audit vocem [Ps. 117:15] *exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis iustorum*." Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermon 61 from Song of Songs in which Bernard preaches about the bride/dove in the cleft of rocks was probably an inspiration for this section of *oratio* on Catherine.

others.[46] Throughout the sermon, Catherine's good works are sometimes discussed with reference to the beatitudes. For example, Domenico's description of her tears shed in religious devotion, in compassion for her neighbor, in remembrance of God's beneficence and Christ's passion are explained with the beatitude from Matthew 5:5: "Blessed are those who weep, for they shall be consoled."[47] Reference is made to Matthew 5:9: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."[48] Domenico cited this beatitude in regard to Catherine's celebrated role in bringing the papacy back to Rome:

> She is worthy of this admiration because when the popes were absent from Rome for almost 80 years, her prudence and counsel, persuasion and prayer brought it about that Pope Gregory XI and the whole Roman Curia returned to its rightful seat, and what the whole of Italy was not able to effect, this one woman did, not prelates, not kings, not princes, but a woman was the leader of such deeds.[49]

In this sermon preached before Pius II in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the resting place of Catherine's body, it is no surprise that Domenico should bring Catherine's role in papal affairs into sharp focus. Hence, we see in sermon literature a trend in modern

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[46] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 34. "Proinde videres eam sedulo subvenire pauperibus, servire languentibus, exuere se vestem et nudos tegere, consolari maestos, afflictos erigere, discidentes componere et suo ore palente ieiuniis fame tamen torqueri aliena."

[47] See Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, pp. 35–36. The beatitude is cited on p. 36.

[48] The other beatitudes that are cited in this sermon are: Matt. 5:6: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for justice, for they shall have their fill" (p. 33); Matt. 5:7: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy" (p. 33); and Matt. 5:8: "Blessed are the pure of heart for they shall see God" (p. 21).

[49] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 36: "Illud admiratione dignum quod cum Pontifices Romani octoginta ferme annos urbe Roma abfuissent, huius prudentia, consilio, persuasionibus et orationibus effectum est ut Pontifex Gregorius et universa Romana Curia ad sedem propriam redierint et quod tota Italia efficere non potuit, haec una mulier efficit, non prelati, non reges, non principes, sed tanti fuit dux femina facti." Not only this sermon but also the sermons written shortly after her death and later ones present Catherine as a heroine in her role in the papacy's return to Rome. However, scholars have noted that her followers were embarrassed by Catherine's association with the papacy's return to Rome. See, for example, F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), p. 187, n. 114: "It is worth noting as well that Catherine's reputation as the saint who brought the papacy back to Rome was in the decades following her death a source of great embarrassment for her followers, since the return of Gregory XI precipitated the schism, a much worse catastrophe than the Avignon papacy." The reaction of embarrassment is not detected in the sermon literature.

historiography, that is, an attempt not only to present Catherine as an ecstatic mystic but also to depict her in the round, as a person who was involved in both ecclesiastical politics and the ascetical ideals of religious devotion.[50] Ultimately, Domenico presents Catherine as an imitable saint whose fame resides in Siena but ultimately transcends all geographical boundaries:

> And therefore that which pertains especially to this virgin, this most saintly Catherine, the flower of our time, the grace of the famous city of Siena, nay of Italy, nay the glory of all Christians, let us place just as a mirror before our eyes.[51]

Another humanist to preach about Catherine was the Sienese lay preacher Agostino Dati. His sermons on the gospels were especially admired in his day. Dati also wrote numerous *orationes*; he composed one *oratio* for Catherine of Siena to be preached on her feast day.[52] In this sermon, Dati celebrates Catherine primarily as a wise and prudent virgin; it is through virginity that Catherine and those wishing to be like her can understand divine truth: "And through virginity the more it is granted to perceive as very near the heavenly things of contemplation and the truth of divine matters, the more this virtue is removed from the defilement of bodies."[53] Catherine's virginity is

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[50] For example, Karen Scott argues: "There are several problems with recent scholarship on Saint Catherine. Though her contemplative model influenced the religious writing and experience of early modern women seeking to imitate her, I would suggest that one should not confuse this later development with the historical Catherine, who was not an enclosed nun. In addition, to two views of her that most common in current historiography—that she was either an activist for the papacy or a holy mystic—are incomplete because they do not address sufficiently the varied aspects of her complex life: Catherine sought both to unite with God and to serve vigorously her society and church." See Karen Scott, "St Catherine of Siena, 'Apostola,'" *Church History*, 61.1 (1992), 34–46, at p. 37.

[51] Domenico De' Domenichi, *Oratio in Laudem*, p. 37: "Et ideo quod ad hanc Virginem speciatim attinet ipsam Catherinam Sanctissimam nostri temporis florem, inclytae Senarum urbis decus, immo Italiae, immo Christianorum gloriam, quasi speculum nobis oculos ponamus."

[52] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," in *Augustini dati senensis opera* (Siena, 1502); the sermon is found on fols 62a–63b. Reference to the occasion upon which the sermon was preached is found on fols 62a–62b: "Cursum orationis accendit qualem certo credimus eam in qua de beatae Virginis Catherine laudibus pertractandum est cuius et festum diem hodiernum agimus." For a summary of Agostino Dati's life, see P. Vin, "Dati, Agostino," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 33 (Rome, 1987), pp. 15–21.

[53] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 62b: "Ac per virginitatem quidem tanto datur proprius: et celestia contemplati et divinarum rerum perspicere veritatem quanto ea virtus a corporum sorde secretior est."

perfect because she is prudent and wise. Augustine, Ambrose, Bernard, and Thomas Aquinas, among others, are quoted to demonstrate that virginity is the highest virtue of all.[54] Catherine's purity enables divine insight, and in this way she is compared to the Apostle Paul, who could contemplate things which were arcane and ineffable.[55] He celebrates her extreme asceticism; she tamed the flesh with fasts and vigils, with the wearing of a hair shirt, by rejecting wine and meat while sometimes only taking contentment from the moisture of herbs and the sustenance of the Eucharist.[56] This is followed by a list of all her good works: assisting the poor, feeding the hungry and thirsty, clothing the naked, ministering to the sick, acting as peacemaker in Florence, and traveling across the Alps to Avignon to assist the papacy.[57]

Dati shifts the sermon to talk on a personal note about his son, the Franciscan friar Nicholas Dati (d. 1501). Agostino Dati informs the audience that Nicholas during a grave illness called upon Catherine, the virgin, and was restored to health.[58]

Throughout the sermon, Dati never mentions her stigmata. Rather, her glorious virginity, which pervades the whole theme of his preaching, is the high point of her saintly qualities.[59] This is further underlined

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[54] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 62b.

[55] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 62b: "Illa cum Paulo apostolo intuita est arcana celestia que fare non potest lingua mortalis."

[56] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 63a: "Abstinens fuit quae carnem domuit ieiuniis, vigiliis, verberibus; corpus afflixit, amicta cilicio…vini et carnium usum prorsus abiecit aliquando solo herbarum suco diu sola eucharisitie communione contenta."

[57] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 63a: "Quis referat misercordiam eius que benigne pauperes Christi fovit quia indulgente patre larga manu subvenit pauit esurientes potauit sitientes nudos operuit egrotantibus ministravit afflictos et calamitate pressos solata est et studiose pro Christi nomine corporali simul et spirituali auxilio profuit nec modo singulis profuit hominibus sed et populis quod Florentini testantur pro quorum pace quo tempore cum Ecclesia dissidebant et erant interdicto subpositi Apennium et Alpes transgressa Avinionem usque ad Romanum Pontificem profecta est."

[58] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 63a: "Unum nequeo pretermittere quod ad filium spectat quem habeo unicum Nicolaum, Franciscum, que proximis annis egrotans cum desperata salute iam prorsus ab omnibus extinctus puraretur, Caterine Virgini commendatus, subito qui iam fere mortuus erat, revixit et dolore tabescenti patri mirabile dictu, brevi fuit ac divinitus restitutus incolumis."

[59] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 63a: "Illud patet in promptuque est omnibus quod propter exploratam eius sanctitatem et ob summam miraculorum gloriam dispensante Deo a divino Pontifice Pio II in sanctarum

in Dati's closing vernacular summary of the *oratio*. The body of the sermon was preserved in Latin, but the vernacular summation makes explicit a portion of the audience whom Dati was addressing. Here he identifies mothers and venerable ladies and tells them to contemplate three main points: first, Catherine's virginity; second, her wisdom; and third, her sanctity and perfection in her holy devout works.[60]

Dati's failure to mention Catherine's stigmata may reflect his desire to avoid a hotly debated topic. It could also be because of his association with the Franciscan order. His son Nicholas Dati was a Franciscan, and, as indicated, Franciscans largely rejected Dominican claims of Catherine's stigmata.[61] It is not clear if Dati's failure to mention the stigmata was an implicit dismissal of Catherine's stigmata. However, in a sermon written by the Franciscan bishop of Aquino, Robert Caracciolo (d. 1495), a contemporary of Dati, we see an explicit challenge to Catherine's stigmata. Caracciolo argues that her sanctity is tied to being a virgin, prophetess, and visionary, but not a stigmatic.[62] Caracciolo uses the theme of Proverbs 31:29: "Many daughters have gathered together riches, you indeed have surpassed them all." Proverbs 31 was a *thema* sometimes used in medieval sermons which commemorated holy women.[63] In Caracciolo's case, the theme is undercut by his

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Virginum catalogum ascita est quas Romana veneratur Ecclesia eius gloriosa solennitas ab universali fidelium concione celebratur."

[60] Agostino Dati, "Oratio de laudibus D. Catharinae Senensis," fol. 63b: "Et a sua commemoratione habiamo attese et considerate tre contemplatione: prima della sua virginita; secundario della sua sapientia; tertio della santita et perfectione sua intutte le opere pertinenti alla sanctita religione."

[61] In private correspondence, Alison Frazier has indicated that one cannot be sure that the sermon in Dati's *Opera* accurately reports the sermon he gave. This is because the material was all reworked by his son much later. I am grateful to Dr Frazier for raising this point of clarification, as it indicates that the sermon was ultimately edited by a Franciscan friar—a particularly relevant point when assessing questions related to the stigmata.

[62] Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones de Laudibus Sanctorum* (Reutlinger, 1495) (Sermon on Catherine), fols 220v–225v.

[63] See, for example, Jacques de Vitry use of Prov. 31:10–31 in a sermon most likely written to commemorate the life of Marie d'Oignies. For the Latin version and English translation of this sermon, see Carolyn Muessig, *The Faces of Women in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry* (Toronto, 1999), pp. 64–86 (English text); pp. 177–98 (Latin text). The sermon is from Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones de sanctis*, "sermo commune de uirginibus," Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore 503, fols 224r–228v. Eudes de Châteauroux (c. 1208–73), in a sermon on Mary Magdalene based on the theme Prov. 31:10: *Mulierem fortem quis inueniet, procul et de ultimis finibus precium eius*, discusses valiant women who stick with the Cistercian order as opposed to those cowardly men who leave it. See Nicole Bériou, "La Madeleine dans les sermons

endeavor to show that Catherine, although a great saint, was not as exceptional as some might think.

In the first section of the sermon, the discussion proceeds in a negative vein regarding female sanctity. Caracciolo sets out to prove that God can bestow the wonders of sanctity even upon women. While on the one hand Caracciolo's statement can be viewed as a championing of female saints, he inhibits any expansive discussion of Catherine's holiness by introducing doubt regarding female sanctity in general. He states that the long list of virgin martyrs proves that women can be saints. But if some individuals are still unconvinced, they should realize that such hard-won virtue did not come from these women's own efforts but came through God's help.[64] Furthermore, while Caracciolo does list Catherine's saintly attributes of fasting, self-mortification, and helping the sick, he is more concerned to show how she is not a stigmatic saint: "As is evident from what has already been said and those things which follow, Catherine was decorated with the most splendid privileges and graces. But she was not marked by the appearance of the stigmata just as Francis was."[65]

The popular Dominican preacher Gabriel Bruni of Barletta (d. after 1480) counters the tone of the Franciscan view of Catherine.[66] In his macaronic sermon on Catherine preached sometime around 1480, Gabriel brings Catherine's sanctity to the level of the Virgin Mary, if not higher.[67] The sermon has for its theme Wisdom 8:1: "Her have I loved, and have sought her out from my youth, and have desired to take for my spouse, and I became a lover of her beauty." Gabriel

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parisiens du XIIIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen âge* 104 (1992), 269–340; the sermon by Eudes on Mary Magdalene is found on pp. 331–37, at p. 336. We also note that Prov. 31:29 was used in *laude* about Catherine of Siena. See Eliana Cobari's chapter in this present volume.

[64] Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones de Laudibus Sanctorum*, fol. 221r: "Non potuerunt hec fieri nisi superno assistente presidio, cum mulieres sint natura sua molles in alios."

[65] Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones de Laudibus Sanctorum*, fol. 224va–224vb: "Fuit Katherina ut patet ex dictis et ex his que sequenter amplissimis privilegiis et gratiis decorata. Sed stigmatum specie non fuit ut Franciscus insignita."

[66] Rosa Maria Dessì, "Gabriel Barletta," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, eds. André Vauchez et al. (London, 2000), p. 583. Gabriel Bruni of Barletta is sometimes referred to as Gabriel de Brunis de Barletta and Gabriel Barletta.

[67] The sermon is mainly in Latin, but Italian phrases and words are present throughout. For discussion of Gabriel's preaching on the Virgin Mary, see Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C., 2001).

explains: "And although God loved all creatures intimately, he loved her, his spouse Catherine, nevertheless in particularly, whom he designated to adorn with the highest, immense and angelic privileges."[68]

Gabriel refers to Catherine's "angelic privileges," echoing the early sermons on her seraphic qualities. Indeed, Gabriel places Catherine at the highest level of sanctity, not only because he views her sanctity as angelic but also because he sees Catherine having similarities with the Virgin Mary and, especially, with Christ. Gabriel says that she was conformed to Christ in her love of neighbor and contempt of the world and in her reception of the stigmata.[69] In the final sentence of the sermon, Gabriel presents a sort of trinitarian doxology which includes Mary, Christ, and Catherine of Siena: "The Mother of Christ bared her heart and breast, Christ his side and wounds, and blessed Catherine of Siena bared her holy stigmata; those who invoke her may her kindness preserve them."[70]

Gabriel's final statement demonstrates his high regard for Catherine's sanctity. This may have caused some theologians anxiety, as it implied that Catherine was in a league of her own when it came to veneration. According to theological concepts of devotion in the Middle Ages, God was worshipped (*latria*), saints were venerated (*dulia*), but the Virgin Mary, because she was the Mother of God, received the highest veneration (*hyperdulia*). Thomas Aquinas in the third part of the *Summa theologiae*, clearly explains this graduation of devotion:

> Since divine worship (*latria*) is the prerogative of God it should not be paid to any creature venerated by us for what it is in itself…Accordingly, since the Blessed Virgin is no more than a creature and is rational, she must not be paid divine worship, but simply the veneration known as *dulia*; however, since she is Mother of God, this should be

[68] Bruni, *Sermones Fratris Gabrielis Barelete* (Brescia, 1498), fols 23vb–26ra, see fol. 23vb: "Et licet amauerit omnem creaturam intimo amore tamen particulariter amauit sponsam suam Catherinam, quam dignatus est onare altis, immensis, et angelicis privilegiis.'"

[69] Bruni, *Sermones de Sanctis*, fol. 25ra: "Ideo fuit ei conformis in tribus: primo in proximi dilectione; secundo in mundi despectione; tertio in stigmatum susceptione."

[70] Bruni, *Sermones de Sanctis*, fol. 26rb: "O felix mulier: Mater Christi ostendit pectus et ubera; filius latus et vulnera, et Catherina beata sua sacra stygmata, quibus eam invocantibus prestat sua beneficia." Further evidence that Gabriel Bruni and Roberto Caracciolo were responding directly to one another's sermons is detected in this doxology; at the end of Caracciolo's sermon on Francis he uses very similar phrasing: "Mater quidem Dei ostendit pectus et ubera; filius latus et vulnera, et Franciscus sua sacra stigmata." See Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones de Laudibus Sanctorum*, fol. 149vb–153ra (153ra).

> of a higher form than that given other creatures. For this reason the veneration paid her is termed *hyperdulia*, to indicate that it is more than ordinary *dulia*.[71]

Elements of Gabriel's sermon, however, indicate that this view was not as strictly adhered to as the *Summa theologiae* implied. Gabriel argued that similitude is the cause of love. God is the highest purity and beauty (*belleza*). God loves a good and holy creature, and he loves even more the one that is more beautiful, more holy and better. He then posited that Catherine was this purest creature.[72] Such an argument would not pass the test of Thomas Aquinas's clearly demarcated degrees of worship and veneration as there could only be one purest creature, but for Gabriel, at least in this sermon, it was not Mary but Catherine.

Gabriel's high regard for Catherine seems also to be tied to her asceticism and works of mercy. Perhaps more than the other preachers, he emphasized Catherine's visceral Christianity. For example, he provides an account of her helping two young men sentenced to death. Catherine saw them "walking on the road of misery toward their death," and she quickly began to preach to them, converting their anger into sweetness. Gabriel says that they went to death willingly; thereby she freed the once-condemned men from hell and led them to purgatory.[73] Gabriel mentions a Sienese citizen, Andreas, who was so ill that no one could bear to provide assistance because of the pus that oozed from his wounds. Catherine, however, rather than being repulsed, tended to the patient's illnesses; she showed such charity that she gathered the pus into a glass to drink it after it had discharged from Andreas's

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[71] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 3a, questio 25, articulus 5, 61 vols (London and New York, 1963–81), 50:201. On the facing page (p. 200) is the Latin text: "Dicendum quod, quia latria soli Deo debetur, nulli creaturae debetur prout creaturam secundum se veneramur…Cum igitur Beata Virgo sit pure creatura rationalis, non debetur ei adoratio latriae, sed solum veneratio duliae: eminentius tamen quam caeteris creaturis, inquantum ipsa est mater Dei. Et ideo dicitur quod debetur ei non qualiscumque dulia, sed hyperdulia."

[72] Bruni, *Sermones de Sanctis*, fol. 24ra: "Similitudo est causa amoris. Deus est summa puritas e belleza…Deus diligit creaturam bonam et sanctam et plus quanto fuerit pulchrior et sanctior et melior. Ad propositum nostrum: Catherina fuit purissima."

[73] Bruni, *Sermones de Sanctis*, fol. 25ra: "Senis fuere duo inuenes ad mortem sententiati dum super cursum ducerentur vi doloris clamabant, deum blasfemabant et sanctos. Sancta autem erat in domo et videns eos desperatos, cepit eis predicare, et iram eorum convertit in dulcedinem unde ad mortem libenter inerunt migrantantes ad purgatorium eos liberauit." Neither of these men is to be confused with Nicholas Tuldo, who is mentioned a few lines later in the sermon.

cancerous wounds.[74] This radical act of compassion and her other acts of mercy Gabriel explains with a simple theological rationale: "Catherine of Siena was conformed to Christ."[75]

Gabriel's view of Catherine's perfection finds resonances in the 16th-century Dominican Guillaume Pépin, particularly in his sermon on Catherine of Siena.[76] This sermon has for its theme the same one used by Caracciolo, Proverbs 31:29: "Many daughters have gathered together riches: thou hast surpassed them all." Pépin very likely was directly redressing the unenthusiastic tone of Caracciolo's sermon. Pépin was keen to show that Catherine was a holy woman of great renown who indeed did receive the stigmata.[77]

Before considering the extent of Pépin's devotion to Catherine, it is significant to note that this sermon accentuates, more so than the other sermons considered here, the issue of the discernment of spirits. Pépin guaranteed that Catherine's prophetic powers were not illusory notions inspired by the devil and that she could discern between the diabolical and the divine.[78] The French origin of this sermon as well as its later date than the others may indicate a concern of Pépin to focus on the discernment of spirits—a matter which Parisian theologians

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[74] Bruni, *Sermones de Sanctis*, fol. 25ra: "Preterea quidam civis nomine Andreas qui habebat vulnuus cancri in stumacho cui nullus servire volebat propter horrorem vulneris, ipsa eidem servivit. Et dum haberet vomitum sumpsit pro potu reliquias vulneris." According to Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.4.154.892A (see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*), Andreas was not man but a woman called Andrea: "Accidit namque illo in tempore, quamdam aliam Sororem de pœnitentia B. Dominici, quæ juxta morem patriæ vocabatur Andrea, per nomen masculinum impositum feminæ, incurrere quamdam infirmitatem." The appropriation of a male name for a woman must have led Bruni to think that the sick patient was a man, as the relative pronoun "qui" used by Bruni clearly indicates that the subject is masculine. I am grateful to Beverly Kienzle for advice on this reading.

[75] Bruni, *Sermones de Sanctis*, fol. 25rb: "Catherina Senensis fuit Christo conformis."

[76] Guillaume Pépin, "Sermo de Beata Catharina Senensi de Tertio Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum," in *Sermones de imitatione sanctorum* (Venice, 1594), pp. 193r–204v

[77] Pépin, "Sermo de Beata Catharina Senensi de Tertio Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum," p. 202v: "Christus impressit corpori eius virgineo stigmata sua."

[78] Pépin, "Sermo de Beata Catharina Senensi de Tertio Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum," p. 197: "Deus, qui beatae Catharinae malignantium spirituum certamina vincere, et in amore tui nominis inconcusse permanere tribuisti. Nam non solum spiritus malignus suis asturiis [sic], illusionibus atque communibus, et visitatis tentationibus interioribus nitebatur devincere virginem, et ad peccatum attrahere, verumetiam quandoque exterius illi visibiliter apparendo." See also p. 202: "Catherina multa in spiritu prophetico cognovit, etiam usque ad cognitiones hominum. ita, ut veraciter diceret saepe his, quicum ea conversabantur."

were particularly interested in—and to clarify that in no way was Catherine's sanctity to be questioned as false.[79]

Pépin, however, like the other preachers, does devote a great deal of his sermon to depicting Catherine as an outstanding ascetic, a champion of good works, an assistant to the papacy, and dedicated helper of her Christian brother and sisters. Pépin compares her to Esther, Judith, and Anna, showing how in different ways Catherine is superior to all of them. Pépin states that no woman surpasses the Virgin, but Catherine, nevertheless, does have superiority over the Virgin's sanctity in three particular ways. The first is related to pain: "The pain of the Virgin Mary was spiritual and mental. But the pain of the virgin Catherine was corporeal. This is when Christ impressed the stigmata on her virginal body."[80] The second is related to Catherine's promise of her body to Christ:

> Blessed Catherine of Siena has surpassed the Blessed Virgin in the actual promising of her body to her Spouse Christ. For it is read that when Christ once appeared to her and asked her how much did she love him, and it is reported that she responded with her whole heart, and that she offered her heart to him. Whence, then Christ himself physically extracted her heart.[81]

The third and final way is related to Catherine's wearing of the crown of thorns:

> The said spouse of Christ, Catherine, surpassed Mary, the begetter of God, in regard to the taking on the crown of thorns. For it is read that Christ once appeared to Catherine and holding in his hands two crowns, one made of thorns but the other made of gold, and said to her: "If you choose the crown of gold in the present life, afterwards you will receive

[79] For detailed analysis of the discernment of spirits in the later Middle Ages, see Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004). See also Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003).

[80] Pépin, "Sermo de Beata Catharina Senensi de Tertio Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum," p. 203: "Dolor enim virginis Mariae fuit spiritualis et mentalis. Dolor vero virginis Catharinae fuit corporalis. Hoc autem fuit, quando Christus impressit corpori eius virgineo stigmata sua in modum qui sequitur."

[81] Pépin, "Sermo de Beata Catharina Senensi de Tertio Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum," p. 204: "Secundo Beata Catharina Senensis supergressa est Beatam Virginem in actuali exhibitione sui corporis sponso suo Christo. Nam de ea legitur, quod cum Christus semel illi appareret, atque interrogaret, quantum eum diliget et respondisse fertur, quod toto corde, et quod illi offerebat cor suum. Unde tunc ipse Christus sensibiliter ab ea extraxit cor illius."

> the crown of thorns. But on the contrary, if in the present life you choose the crown of thorns, after this life you will indubitably receive the gold crown." So hearing this and offering to suffer like her Spouse in every way, she accepted from the Lord's hand the crown of thorns, which she placed on her head, for several days she felt the most excruciating pain on her head. A similar thing is not read about the most holy mother of Christ.[82]

Thus Pépin, although not as extreme as Gabriel in his view of Catherine's superiority over the Virgin Mary, does explicitly state that Catherine surpassed the Mother of God in regard to her physical relationship with the second person of the Trinity owing to her Christ-like suffering.

In conclusion, we see that early sermons on Catherine of Siena were concerned to link her to esteemed saintly precedents—in particular, Saints Paul, Francis of Assisi, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Furthermore, Catherinian sermons innovated the liturgy by placing her holiness, and especially her stigmata, at the core of Observant Dominicans preaching on such feast days as the Invention of the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns. The post-canonization sermons by Pius II and Domenico De' Domenichi did not discuss Catherine's stigmata, but they did emphasize a dynamic example of a preaching and teaching woman. Only in the Franciscan-influenced sermons, by Augustino Dati and Robert Caracciolo, do we see an emphasis on Catharine's virginity as the foundation of her sanctity. But Gabriel Bruni and Guillaume Pépin radicalized Catherine's virginity by indicating that she equaled and sometimes surpassed the Virgin Mary in holiness. These sermons reflect a range of views which demonstrate that Catherine's sanctity did not always fit neatly into hagiographical topoi. In so doing, the sermons, much like Catherine herself, straddled a fine line between edification and transgression.

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[82] Pépin, "Sermo de Beata Catharina Senensi Tertio Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum," p. 204. "Tertio dicta Christi sponsa Catharina supergressa est Dei genitricem Mariam, quo ad coronae spineae susceptionem. Nam de ea legitur, quod Christus semel illi apparuit tenens in manibus suis duas coronas, unam quidem in spineam, aliam vero auream, dicens illi. Si in praesenti elegeris coronam auream, spineam postea portabis. Quod si econtra in praesenti elegeris spinosam coronam, indubiae post hanc vitam auream obtinebis. Quod illa audiens et ad patiendum conformiter ad sponsum suum Christum se per omnia offerens, accepit de manu domini coronam spineam, quam suo capiti imponens etiam diebus pluribus vehementissimum in capite suo presensit dolorem. Huic autem simile non legitur de sanctissima Christi matre."

CHAPTER TEN

LAUDE FOR CATHERINE OF SIENA

Eliana Corbari*

The Centre for Catherinian Studies in Rome holds more than 4,000 works written about, or authored by, Catherine of Siena (1347–80). The last century alone has seen the publication of more than 3,000 works, which have been catalogued and introduced in five volumes of analytic bibliography, with a sixth volume in progress.[1] Much of this extensive research has been written in Italian and therefore is not widely accessible to Anglophone readers.

This rich bibliography includes few editions and only three articles on the *laude* for Catherine of Siena. Francesco Luisi convincingly proposes a reconstruction for singing some of her *laude*; Pietro Rossi writes on a *lauda* by Caffarini; while Elsa Vatielli presents a brief analysis of Sienese poetry written from the period of Catherine's lifetime up to the 17th century.[2] Accompanied by insightful comments and extracts from the *laude*, Vatielli's work is informative and original, even if it does not follow current scholarly conventions, such as clear references to sources. As yet, there is no systematic study of the *laude* for Catherine of Siena. The present chapter represents a point of departure for such an undertaking. It gathers and translates some of the hitherto little-known *laude*, with the aim of offering opportunities for further

* I am very grateful to the editors of this volume for suggesting this chapter and for their insightful comments. I also thank the Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani, Rome, the Biblioteca degli Intronati, Siena, and the anonymous reviewer for their assistance.

[1] Lina Zanini, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1901–1950* (Rome, 1977); Zanini and Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1951–1975* (Rome, 1985); Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1976–1985* (Rome, 1989); Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1986–1990* (Rome, 2000); Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1991–2000* (Rome, 2003). See http://www.centrostudicateriniani.it/4/4catalogo.html.

[2] Francesco Luisi, "La tradizione laudistica," in *La Roma di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Maria Grazia Bianco (Rome, 2001), pp. 323–55; Pietro Rossi, "Una laude a riverenza della beata vergine S. Caterina da Siena," *Studi Cateriniani* 4 (1927), 70–99; Elsa Vatielli, "Rimatori e poeti in lode di S. Caterina," *S. Caterina da Siena*, n.s. 12 (1960), no. 1, pp. 11–22; no. 2–3, pp. 11–16; no. 4–5, pp. 18–26, no. 6, pp. 9–15.

Catherinian studies across the disciplines. Most of the sources are still little explored, not least because of the difficulty in accessing them.[3]

Laude are a well recognized form of medieval religious poetry; nonetheless, a brief excursus on the genre is opportune before focusing on the *laude* for Catherine of Siena.[4] *Laude* were initially transmitted orally, often sung, and generally were written in the vernacular. They have been identified by Bernard McGinn as one of the privileged genres of vernacular theology, alongside others such as sermonic texts and hagiography.[5] *Laude* share some of the characteristics of sermons, and more specifically, *laude* written for saints are related to sermons for the saints, also known as *sermones de sanctis*.[6] However, unlike sermons, the public performance of *laude* did not require ecclesiastical authorization. It is only after the Council of Trent (1545–63) that *laude* written for Catherine of Siena would carry the Dominican imprimatur.[7]

As vernacular theology, *laude de sanctis* contributed to the dissemination of Christian learning and to fostering the cult of saints, but they also reflect a desire for participation and interest in particular saints by authors and audiences. *Laude* are a form of vernacular theology which interprets human understanding of God and divine things as poetry for the benefit of audiences of listeners and readers, as well as their performers. *Laude* are often concerned with human relationships with the divine, as they express a poetical discourse on the mysteries of salvation in vernacular song.

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[3] Another difficulty is the confusion between the different Catherines. For instance, I suggest that a *lauda* considered to be for Catherine of Siena is instead for Catherine of Alexandria; this is because the text says Catherine was martyred through decapitation: "quand'io al martire i' fu' dicapitata"; see Luisi, "La tradizione laudistica," pp. 341–43, at 342.

[4] For a summation of their origins and developments, see *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vols 1–3 (Rome, 1995–96): Lino Leonardi and Francesco Santi, 1:361–69; Guido Baldassarri, 2:304–14; Marcello Cicutti and Valerio Marucci, 3:938–43.

[5] Bernard McGinn, *Meister Eckhart and the Beguine Mystics* (New York, 1994), p. 9.

[6] See George Ferzoco, "The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, New History of the Sermon 3 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 279–92. On the fluidity of the sermon genre, see Beverly M. Kienzle, "Introduction," pp. 449–559, and "Conclusion," pp. 963–83, in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly M. Kienzle, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000); and on Italian sermons, see in the same volume Carlo Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200–1500)," pp. 449–559.

[7] Serafino Razzi, ed., *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, 1563), fol. 148v; Serafino Razzi, *Hymanario Dominicano* (Perugia, 1587), fol. IV; Serafino Razzi, *Santuario di laudi* (Venice, 1609), p. v.

The writing and singing of poetry for the saints also belongs to the monastic theological tradition, although such monastic texts were usually written in Latin as part of the liturgy of the divine office, rather than in the vernacular.[8] Nevertheless, the earliest extant vernacular verses in Italy also stem from a monastic tradition.[9] A connection between *laude* and hagiographical tradition with a monastic matrix has been highlighted by Emilio Pasquini.[10] *Laude* are a distinctive Italian form of vernacular theology influenced by monastic, lay, and mendicant culture: diachronically they follow monastic theology and precede plays, known as *rappresentazioni*. *Laude* can be considered a bridge between medieval plays and sermons; there is evidence that all three were performed together.[11] *Laude* are musical but are also texts to read and study.

Who were the authors of Italian *laude*? Most early *laude*, such as the *Laude Cortonesi*, were transmitted anonymously and sung by religious congregations. Their production was extensive, as there are more than 200 extant manuscripts of *laude* collections.[12] The better known authors include lay women and men, as well as Franciscans and Dominicans. For instance, *laude* have been written by women such as Catherine Vigri of Bologna (1413–63),[13] Catherine de' Ricci (1522–90),[14] and Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1425–82);[15] as well as men who are, to date, probably better known exponents of the genre, such as Iacopone of Todi (c. 1236–1306),[16] Neri Pagliaresi (c. 1350–1406),[17] Bianco of Siena (c. 1350–c. 1412),[18] Feo

[8] For instance, Hildegard of Bingen's sequences for Saint Disibod and Saint Ursula, *Symphonia*, ed. and trans. Barbara Newman, 2nd edn (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), pp. 180–87 and 230–39.

[9] Leonardi and Santi, *Storia della letteratura*, 1:361

[10] Emilio Pasquini, "La lauda," in *Lo stilnovo e la poesia religiosa*, by Emilio Pasquini and Antonio Enzo Quaglio (Bari, 1971), pp. 151–218, at pp. 151–52.

[11] Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy," pp. 474–78.

[12] Franco Mancini, "Lauda," in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. Vittore Branca, 3 vols (Turin, 1974), 2:364–68, at 366.

[13] Caterina Vigri, *Laudi, trattati e lettere*, ed. Silvia Serventi (Florence, 2000).

[14] Catherine de' Ricci, "Dah che tu m'hai dimostro," ed. and trans. Patrick Macey, *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems* (Madison, 1999), pp. lvii–lviii and 93–95.

[15] Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici, *Sacred Narratives*, ed. and trans. Jane Tylus (Chicago, 2001), pp. 264–86.

[16] Iacopone da Todi, *The God-madness,* ed. and trans. Pádraig J. Daly (Dublin, 2008); id., *The Lauds*, trans. Serge and Elizabeth Hughes (London, 1982); id., *Laude*, ed. Franco Mancini (Rome, 1974); and id., *Laudi, trattato e detti*, ed. Franca Ageno (Florence, 1953).

[17] Neri Pagliaresi, *Rime sacre di certa o probabile attribuzione*, ed. Giorgio Varanini (Florence, 1970).

[18] Bianco da Siena, *Laudi Spirituali*, ed. Telesforo Bini (Lucca, 1851).

Belcari (1410–84),[19] and Serafino Razzi (1531–1611).[20] Yet, even from these authors, the *laude* on the saints remain difficult to study, either due to the lack of published critical editions or the paucity of recent scholarly studies, particularly in languages other than Italian.

Neri Pagliaresi, Bianco of Siena, Feo Belcari, and Serafino Razzi wrote *laude* for Catherine of Siena. Pagliaresi and Bianco were her Sienese contemporaries. To my knowledge, only Pagliaresi's *laude* are available in a recent critical edition.[21] A critical study by Stefano Cremonini on Belcari's *laude* is not yet published; while Silvia Serventi is currently working on a critical edition of the *laude* by Bianco of Siena.[22] I am not aware of recent editions of Razzi's *laude* for Catherine of Siena other than a facsimile of his *Libro primo*. Moreover two of Razzi's *laude* have hitherto gone unnoticed in Catherinian studies. Razzi wrote no fewer than three *laude* for Catherine of Siena and translated into the vernacular three Latin hymns which he attributed to Pope Pius II (1458–64).[23]

Why have *laude* on Catherine of Siena been subject to little recent scholarly interest? This is partly due to the lack of edited collections or even a catalogue of *laude* for the saints. The study of medieval texts in the vernacular has been pioneered by philological and literary scholarship. Yet, with the exception of pinnacles such as Dante's *Commedia*, theological poetry used to be considered as deserving little scholarly attention.[24] But the tides are changing, and new studies are flowing from scholars of Italian literature.[25] From a historical perspective, Capecelatro published a selection of *laude* for Catherine of Siena, mostly written by her contemporaries;[26] and Augusta Theodosia Drane

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[19] Stefano Cremonini, "Per l'edizione delle laude di Feo Belcari" (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2006).

[20] Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi* and *Santuario di laudi*.

[21] Pagliaresi, *Rime sacre*.

[22] I thank Stefano Cremonini and Silvia Serventi for allowing me to reproduce their current editions.

[23] See Appendix.

[24] See Carlo Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattrocento e Cinquencento* (Florence, 1968).

[25] For instance, see above and *Rime sacre dal Petrarca al Tasso*, eds. Maria Luisa Doglio and Carlo Delcorno (Bologna, 2005); see also *Iacopone poeta*, ed. Franco Suitner (Rome, 2007).

[26] Alfonso Capecelatro, *Storia di santa Caterina da Siena e del papato del suo tempo*, 2nd edn (Naples, 1858), "Schiarimento X," pp. 465–77. Reprinted with the title *Santa Caterina da Siena e il papato del suo tempo* (Rome, 1973).

expressed an interest in their historical value.[27] The study of *laude* as vernacular theology can only follow their edition; *laude* for the saints need first to be fished out from the sea of medieval poetics.

There are at least 13 extant vernacular *laude* and four Latin hymns written for Catherine of Siena from the 14th to the 16th centuries.[28] They straddle a period from her lifetime to the intervention on the debates over her stigmata by Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605).[29] I refer to the Appendix of this chapter for an index and select bibliography and present below six examples, bringing together primary sources for the first time available in English translation and generally not easily accessible in the original vernacular.

In addition, this chapter touches on other *laude* written by Catherine's admirers, most of which have been collected by Capecelatro,[30] two editions of his work on Catherine are now accessible via the Internet.[31] Capecelatro's appendices, which he names *schiarimenti*, are helpful editions of Italian and Latin primary sources. Appendix 10 in his second edition records "some poetry in praise of Catherine written in Italian by her contemporary authors, and others in Latin by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pope Pius II."[32]

The manuscript containing one of the Latin poems attributed to Pius II, which begins "Quis sacri gesta canat," offers the opportunity to consider the reception of the *laude* for Catherine in relation to her own teachings. This Latin text can be read in a manuscript, alongside a collection of Catherine's letters, and a vernacular *lauda* by Feo Belcari which begins "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core."[33] Each poem has been copied respectively at the beginning and the end of the manuscript. So, the texts by Pius II and Belcari are presented as

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[27] Augusta Theodosia Drane, *The History of St Catherine of Siena and Her Companions: with a Translation of Her Treatise on Consummate Perfection*, 4th ed., 2 vols (London, 1915), 1:xvi.

[28] I include here *laude* proper and other vernacular poetry written in her praise.

[29] For a summary of papal interventions on the controversial debates between Franciscans and Dominicans over Catherine's stigmata, see Pierre Adnès, "Stigmates," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, eds. M. Viller et al. 17 vols (Paris, 1932–95), 14:1211–43. I thank Carolyn Muessig for this reference.

[30] See above, n. 26.

[31] See http://tinyurl.com/capecelatro1858 and http://tinyurl.com/capecelatro1878 (last accessed 19 September 2011).

[32] "[A]lcune poesie italiane in lode di Caterina di autori suoi contemporanei, e quelle latine di Enea Silvio Piccolomini papa Pio II." Capecelatro, *Storia*, p. 465.

[33] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV. 187.

a commentary, in continuity with Catherine's own work; they grant further authority to her letters and function, both visually and conceptually, as a frame that brings emphasis on Catherine's work.

The selection of *laude* by Capecelatro is taken from early editions of Catherine's *Dialogo*, and he defers to their publication by Aldus Manutius and Farri for complete versions.[34] In fact, *laude* are also extant at the end of numerous other early editions.[35] *Laude* were included in Venetian editions of the *Dialogo* in 1483, 1494, 1504, 1517, 1540, 1547, and 1579.[36] Drane recognized *laude* also at the end of an early Venetian edition of Catherine's letters.[37] I consider the extensive transmission of *laude* alongside seminal works by Catherine to be an indication of the import attributed to them by early publishers and interest by her readers.

I deem noteworthy that early prints of her writings have been dedicated to a female readership alongside *laude*.[38] The collection and printing of three of the privileged genres of vernacular theology—that is, treatises, letters, and poetry—by and about a famous female saint for lay and religious female readers shows that women were at the forefront of the transmission of vernacular theology in late medieval and early modern Italy, both as protagonists and discerning audiences.[39] Vernacular theology is a tradition grown out of active collaborations between women and men who proposed and desired models for Christian learning and living.

Of the six *laude* I have selected for this chapter, only the one by Pagliaresi is found in the early prints of Catherine's writings noted above, and it was published by Capecelatro only in part. Yet, most of these were also written for women: Bianco of Siena addressed his

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[34] Capecelatro, *Storia*, pp. 465–66, n. 1.

[35] See Catherine of Siena, *Dialogo de la seraphica vergine santa Catharina da Siena […]. Insieme con la sua uita et canonizatione et alcuni notabili capitoli composti in sua gloria, et laude* (Venice, 1547), fols 240v–251r.

[36] Varanini, *Rime Sacre*, p. 33.

[37] Drane, *The History of St Catherine*, 1:xvi. See *Epistole et orationi della seraphica vergine santa Caterina da Siena […] con alcuni capitoli in sua laude, novamente riviste* (Venice, 1548), fols 294r–297v.

[38] *Epistole et orationi* (1548) is dedicated to Mother Paula Sinistra of the convent of the Giudecca in Venice, with expressly didactic intents. *Dialogo de la seraphica vergine* (1494, 1547) is dedicated to Isabella and Beatrice Sforza by a Dominican friar of the Observance from the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan.

[39] See also Eliana Corbari, "Vernacular Theology: Dominican Sermons and Audience in Late Medieval Italy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol, 2008), pp. 215–16.

lauda to Catherine of Siena, while Serafino Razzi's *laude* are found in two books dedicated respectively to Catherine de' Ricci and Victoria Malaspina.[40] Presented in chronological order, this chapter includes: one *lauda* by Bianco of Siena written in Catherine's lifetime; one by Neri Pagliaresi written at her death; one by Feo Belcari, written for her canonization; and finally three *laude* written by Serafino Razzi after the Council of Trent. Of these four authors, only Razzi was a member of the Dominican Order.

Each of the six *laude* below has been identified by the name of its author and its *incipit* in English translation, which functions as a title. Each title is followed by an introduction and a full translation of the *lauda*, with the original Tuscan vernacular in the footnotes. My translations privilege the content over the poetic forms.[41] I have also provided an indication for singing the *laude* wherever available: in the form of the *cantasi come*; i.e., "to be sung like"; whereas for the later *laude* by Razzi there are also bibliographical references to the musical scores.[42] These six *laude* are some of the different portraits of Catherine, written in her absence.

Bianco of Siena, "Dear sister, be aware"[43]

This *lauda* was addressed to Catherine in her lifetime. Bianco of Siena was a poet and a member of the religious lay congregation of the Gesuati, founded in Siena by Giovanni Colombini (c. 1300–67). The tone suggests that Bianco and Catherine were well acquainted, and the language indicates that they influenced each other, or at least shared sources of learning. For instance, they share an emphasis on

[40] Razzi dedicated to women also his translation of *laude* from Latin hymns. See Appendix.

[41] I am grateful to Adam Elgar for his participation in the English translations of the *laude* by Bianco, Pagliaresi, and Belcari; and to Silvia Serventi and Stefano Cremonini for their contribution to the translations of Bianco and Belcari into modern Italian.

[42] For a study on the singing of some of these laude, see Luisi, "La traduzione laudistica." It is hoped that this chapter will encourage further musical studies and their performance.

[43] "Or ti guarda, suora mia." Forthcoming edition by Silvia Serventi. Fuller bibliographical information for this and for each subsequent *lauda* is given in the Appendix, listed under the name of the author.

the necessity of love, penance and humility, together with biblical and poetic imagery.[44]

This *lauda* is likely to have been written after Catherine left Siena and began her travels, peacemaking negotiations, and correspondence with the papacy. At the time, Catherine was keeping company with the higher echelons, described by Bianco as those puffed up with pride. So, Bianco warned her against the sin of vainglory and the risk of being manipulated by her new entourage; he also encouraged her to abandon claims of prophetic powers and to return to her former humble friends, such as himself. Bianco's *lauda* expressly confirms Catherine's fame of sanctity in her lifetime (vv. 69–72). Indeed, her reputation as a holy woman preceded her arrival in Florence in 1374, as recorded by the author of the *Miracoli*.[45]

Bianco constantly repeats his invitation to Catherine to avoid the dazzle of power, so this *lauda* is not altogether complimentary. Yet, there is a sense of Bianco's concern and love for Catherine, especially when he warns her against enemies (vv. 63–64) and asks for her to return. Perhaps Bianco is one of the detractors of the saint rebuffed by Anastasio of Monte Altino and Caffarini in their own *laude* in praise of Catherine.[46] Two stanzas of Bianco's *lauda* are given as example of criticism of her public role by Thomas Luongo.[47] Despite some of its negative portrayals of Catherine, this *lauda* was included in the first investigation for her canonization.[48]

The *lauda* is ostensibly addressed to Catherine. However, I suggest that Bianco's warning against vainglory and the corresponding emphasis on the necessity of humility develops more widely a biblical theme appealing to vernacular theologians: a warning against the extreme difficulty of maintaining humility for those who have earthly power

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[44] For instance, the *Dialogo*, ch. 71, speaks of love and humility as shields against evil temptations.

[45] "[Q]uale si reputa che sia *santa* serva di Dio." "*Miracoli* della B. Caterina" in Robert Fawtier, *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources,* vol. 1, *Sources hagiographiques* (Paris, 1921), pp. 217–33, at 218. My italics.

[46] See Appendix.

[47] F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), pp. 23, 25.

[48] *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di Documenti sul Culto e la Canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942), p. 338. Isabella Gagliardi, *I Pauperes Yesuati tra esperienze religiose e conflitti istituzionali* (Rome, 2004), pp. 144–45. I thank Silvia Serventi for these references.

and fame, and Catherine was among them. In other words, it can be read as a confirmation of the influence and authority that Catherine achieved in her life, based on her fame of holiness; an influence which led many to desire her presence, some to follow her, and others to seek her reflected glory. It is also a didactic treatise on the responsibilities that come with fame and authority as well as the deforming effects and temptations of earthly power. Bianco's *lauda* is itself an example of humility, as he does not claim to know with certainty and concludes inviting corrections, given the possibility of being mistaken.

The following lauda *was sent by Bianco to the blessed Catherine of Siena*[49]

1. Dear sister, be aware
   not to fall into great ruin:
   if you have divine grace,
   make sure it is conserved.[50]
2. Dear sister, with the cross in front,
   be aware of smarmy praises:
   these have already separated many
   from the uncreated goodness.[51]
3. Be aware of Lady Vain,
   she keeps souls far away
   from the charity sovereign:
   those who follow her are cut off.[52]
4. If you don't become an enemy
   of this very ancient lady,
   all you have been striving for
   will be to no avail.[53]
5. Be aware not to become bad
   because of your great fame;
   if you end up craving it,
   you'll fall wounded to the ground.[54]

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[49] "*Questa seguente lauda mandò el Bianco a la beata Caterina da Siena*"

[50] "Or ti guarda, suora mia, / che non caggi in gran ruina: / se tu ài gratia divina, / fa' che l'abbia conservata" (vv. 1–4).

[51] "Suora mia, con croce in fronte, / guardati dalle lod'unte: / molte n'ànno già disgiunte / dalla bontà increatà" (vv. 5–8).

[52] "Guardati da monna Vana, / che tien l'anima lontana / da la carità sovrana: / chi la segue l'à tagliata" (vv. 9–12).

[53] "Se di questa donna antica / tu non diventi nemica, / perderati la fatica / d'ogni tua ffatigata" (vv. 13–16).

[54] "Guarda che per la gran fama / tu non ne diventi grama: / se di ciò tu arai brama / cadrai 'n terra vulnerata" (vv. 17–20).

6. It is widely said you are
a great lover of Christ;
you may well consider yourself blessed
if you are in such proximity.[55]
7. The devil may be satisfied
if you rejoice in such praise:
be careful not to be caught
by his hook of deceit.[56]
8. Many are the saints
who have been haunted.
They have fled into hiding
to avoid being wounded.[57]
9. In order to flee vainglory,
as it was pleasing to the Lord,
charity was planted
in the humility of their hearts.[58]
10. I hear that you boasted
of being guided by the Holy Spirit.
If true, I sing praise to God
who has lifted you up so high.[59]
11. If you are in such loftiness,
please keep your mind pure.
If you don't, you will be brought
down to earth in great shame.[60]
12. You must indeed be aware
that vanity does not draw you
to become a liar or a coward:
or you'll have a bad reward.[61]
13. You will gain a bad reward
if you follow those puffed up;[62]

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[55] "Molt'è di te gran nomança / che di Cristo sè gran mança: / se tu sè in tant'amistança, / ben ti puo' tener beata!" (vv. 21–24).

[56] "Se cotal ti piace loda, / temo 'l demon non ne goda: / guarda che da la sua froda / tu non sie impedicata" (vv. 25–28).

[57] "Molti sancti sono stati / che so' stati frequentati: / per non esser vulnerati / son fuggiti alla celata" (vv. 29–32).

[58] "Per fuggire lo vano honore / ne piaceptor al Signore: / per l'umilità del core / lo' fu carità piantata" (vv. 33–36).

[59] "Odo che ti desti vanto / che ti guida Spirito Sancto: / s'egli è vero, a Dio ne canto, / che t'à tant'alto levata" (vv. 37–40).

[60] "Se tu sè in tant'altura, la tua mente mantien pura: / se nol fai per tuo sciaura, / tu ne sarai atterrata" (vv. 41–44).

[61] "Guarda, guarda, guarda / che non diveni bugiarda / né per vanità codarda: / mal n'averesti derrata" (vv. 45–48).

[62] Habakkuk 2:4; Colossians 2:18.

if you dwell at a great height,
it will knock you down.[63]

14. Be aware that temptation
of prophetic preaching does not
put you into its prison;
it'd be too late when it releases you.[64]

15. Let go of the fantasies
of vain prophecies.
If you go along with them
you'll find yourself entangled.[65]

16. Be aware of what you say:
if it's not rooted in God,
you'll be caught by the enemies
who surround you insidiously.[66]

17. If you leave this valley
and rise up to a high path,
the higher you climb, the heavier
will be your burden.[67]

18. Those who are puffed up
proclaim your holy life;
your fame has spread around
and you're a saint still alive.[68]

19. If the blind follows the blind,
they both fall into the ditch,[69]
as you've often heard it said
by the uncreated truth.[70]

20. If you are led by the Holy Spirit,
do not seek earthly praise;

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[63] "Mala derrata n'arai /s'e ghonfiati seghuirai; / se in alteçça grande stai, / ne saresti stramaççata" (vv. 49–52). Isaiah 26:5.

[64] "Guarda che la tentatione / del prophetico sermone / non ti mecta in suo pregione: / tardi t'averà lassata!" (vv. 53–56).

[65] "Lassa andar le fantasie / delle vane prophetie: / se tu va' per le lor vie / troverati alacciata" (vv. 56–60).

[66] "Guarda, guarda quel che dici, / che se 'n Dio non à radici, / sara' presa da' nemici / da' quali sè insidiata" (vv. 61–64).

[67] "Se tu esci della valle / per salire in alto calle, / fiaccheriensi le tuo spalle, / quanto più fossi montata" (vv. 65–68).

[68] "Da' gonfiati sè bandita, / come sè di sancta vita; / la tuo fama atorno è gita, / sancta sè già nominata" (vv. 69–72).

[69] Matt. 15:14; Luke 6:39.

[70] "Se 'l cieco lo cieco à seguito, / l'un e ll'altro in foss'è gito, / sì come spesso ài udito / da la verità increata" (vv. 73–76).

this would lead to unrestrained ambition,
if desired by your soul.[71]

21. If you fall, many people
would also fall into disbelief.
Be aware, my poor wretch,
that you're not crushed to pieces.[72]

22. Whoever follows those who do not
lower themselves, will be crushed;
if your mind grows fat with honor,
it will grow thin with pain.[73]

23. Many are those who, for profit,
have let their hearts become ugly,
destroyed because of others.
I do not like these transactions.[74]

24. If you fell into these bands,
I beg you, don't go back;
don't go on following them
or you'd be thrashed to pieces.[75]

25. If you are a spiritual being,
you need to have two wings.
One wing is filial fear,[76]
the other is strengthened by love.[77]

26. If your wings are without feathers,
it is better not to fly;
if the flight can't be sustained,
to the nest one should return.[78]

27. These are the feathers for me:
derision and mockery,

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[71] "Se lo Spirito ti mena, / non cerchar loda terrena / per la quale l'anima sfrena, / se da llei è disiata" (vv. 77–80).

[72] "Se tu cadi, molta gente / caderebbe discredente: / guarda, misera dolente, / che non sie spatassata!" (vv. 81–84).

[73] "Grande riceve spatassa / chi segue chi non s'abassa; / se d'onor tua mente ingrassa, / con dolor fie dimagrata." (vv. 85–88).

[74] "Molti so' che per far fructo / lo lor cuor diventa bructo: / per altrui esser distructo, / non mi piaccion tal mercata" (vv. 89–92).

[75] "Se cadessi in questi bandi, / pregoti che non riandi: / ciò seguendo oltra non andi, / che saresti verghegiata" (vv. 93–96).

[76] Filial fear was often understood as the respect given to another (such as God) out of love, differentiated from servile obedience. For discussions on filial fear and love, see Catherine of Siena, the *Dialogo*, ch. 78; Domenico Cavalca, *Specchio de' peccati*, ch. 8; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2.2ae, Question 19, Article 2.

[77] "Se tu sè spirituale, / sonti bisogno due alle: / l'una timor filiale, / l'altra in amor solidata" (vv. 97–100). Deut. 10:12; Prov. 16:6; Psalms 33:18, 103:17, 118:4, 147:11.

[78] "Se nell'ale non son penne, / el volar non si convenne: / se 'l volante non sostenne, / ritorni nella nidata" (vv. 101–04).

rudeness, disease and poverty;
let me be blamed for the life I lead.[79]

28. May it please you to hear
at least once what I am saying:
if you have ears to hear,[80]
take note of this message of mine.[81]

29. If you identify yourself in this,
may you descend into the valley,
if you wish to be protected
from the hailing of the storm.[82]

30. For my presumption
I beg your forgiveness.
and I ask you to correct me
for each mistake of mine.[83]

31. May the pious divine light
guide you along its way.
May then your soul
be founded in the truth.[84]

32. May it please God to unite you
with those in whom there is true life,
and by God may you be crowned
when arriving to your destination.[85]

Neri Pagliaresi, "Up into the heavens"[86]

This *lauda* was written soon after the death of Catherine. It shows Neri Pagliaresi to be one of her most fervent disciples and admirers. Pagliaresi was a contemporary layman from Siena, a poet, and a spiritual son of Catherine; she wrote to him no fewer than 11 letters.[87] He

[79] "Queste sien le penne mie: / scherni e beffe, villanie, / povertadi, infermarie / e la mia vita biasimata" (vv. 105–08). See Iacopone da Todi's *lauda*, "O Signor, per cortesia, manname la malsania".

[80] Mark 4:23.

[81] "Una volta questo dire / piacciati almeno udire: / s'à' orecchie da udire, / nota questa mia 'mbasciata" (vv. 109–12).

[82] "Se ti senti in ciò compresa, / nella valle sie discesa; / se tu vuoli esser difesa / da tempesta tempestata" (vv. 113–16).

[83] "Della mia presuntione / domando perdonagione / e ancora conretione / d'ogni mia maloperata" (vv. 117–20).

[84] "La divina luce pia / sì ti guidi per suo via, / acciò che 'n veritade sia / la tu' anima fondata" (vv. 121–24). See John 14:6.

[85] "Quelli in cui è vera vita, / se li piace, t'abbia unita, / sì che alla tua finita / sie da llui incoronata" (vv. 125–28).

[86] "Su, al cielo, è ritornata." Pagliaresi, *Rime Sacre*, *Lauda* 13, pp. 187–90.

[87] For a sketch of Pagliaresi's relationship with Catherine, see Luongo, *The Saintly Politics*, pp. 144–47. His *laude* are mentioned at p. 147.

was also one of her closest travel companions and scribes, "responsible for much of the earliest gathering and dissemination of Catherine correspondence."[88]

Catherine is given the endearing title *mamma* by Pagliaresi, as was customary among her close circle.[89] His language is heavily influenced by Catherine, but he describes her with biblical images she analogically ascribes to God. For instance, Catherine is "the humble lamb" (vv. 5–6) for Pagliaresi, while Christ is frequently named as "the immaculate lamb" in Catherine's *Dialogo*.[90] Similarly, she is the furnace of love (v. 14), another metaphor recurrent in Catherine's writing.[91] For Catherine, God is the furnace of ardent love, and the person who has achieved perfection is the firebrand united in love with God's grace; whereas for Pagliaresi, Catherine is herself such a furnace.[92] So, according to him, Catherine became God-like. Her deification was manifest in her love, spiritual motherhood, and compassion; it was the result of her humility, wisdom, prayerful vigils, ministering to God and all people, and her readiness to fight sin.

Pagliaresi does not sing of miraculous signs; indeed, there is no reference to Catherine's stigmata or to other mystical events found in her *vitae* and later *laude*. Numerous are Pagliaresi's assonances with the biblical passages which liken Catherine to both Christ and various figures in the New Testament, especially in the Matthean parables. For instance, Catherine has been exalted by God (vv. 25–28); she is a wise virgin who is ready for the arrival of the bridegroom (vv. 37–38); she is a guest of honor at the wedding feast (vv. 41–44); and she is the merchant who sells all to buy the precious pearl (vv. 39–40). Pagliaresi portrays Catherine as a prophetic figure, foretold in the New Testament.

On the passing of our blessed mother [Catherine] to the heavenly kingdom

This is to be sung like the *lauda* which begins: "Parteti e non dimorare, / valletto saggio e adorno."[93]

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[88] See Appendix in *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 4 vols (Tempe, 2000–08), 2:717.

[89] See *lauda* by Anastasio of Monte Altino. Also, Stefano Maconi in Luongo, *The Saintly Politics*, pp. 123–24.

[90] For Catherine's Christological image of the lamb, see Giuliana Cavallini, *Catherine of Siena* (London, 2005), pp. 64–65.

[91] Ibid., pp. 45–48.

[92] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, ed. Cavallini, ch. 28.

[93] "*De transitu sanctae matris ad celestem patriam*. E cantasi questa come quella che comincia così…" The *incipit* of the vernacular song that provided the melody has

Up into the heavens, the bride
has returned to the true bridegroom,
love to her loving one,
the lover to his beloved![94] [Refrain]

1. She, the humble lamb, has gone to
the immaculate Lamb; she now possesses
in great peace that which she craved so much.
There is more brightness in this star
than in a thousand others,
because no greater sparks of love
were ever found for the lover.[95]
2. Not quite sparks, but great flames
were found in this furnace of love.
She was made our *mamma* even here,
by the peace divine. But she was,
and still is, so pleasing to the whole
of the blessed kingdom, that the world
was no longer deserving of
such a loving woman.[96]
3. She wept with those who weep,
now she rejoices with those who rejoice.[97]
Nor did she walk with slow steps
away from the infernal deceits.
Since she fled human praise
and humbled herself
she is now the queen of a great king,
exalted above many.[98]
4. She was discovered keeping
vigil every night, because it is
very pleasing for a daughter
to minister to her father.
To cut a long story short,

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not been translated because, if its music was written and is extant, it is more likely to be retrieved through the original *incipit*. Melodies were taken from secular as well as religious songs.

[94] "Su, al cielo, è ritornata / la sposa al verace sposo / e l'amore all'amoroso / e all'amante l'amata!" (vv. 1–4).

[95] "All'agnello immaculato / ita n'è l'umile agnella, / e ciò c'ha tanto bramato / con gran pace possiede ella. / E più luce questa stella / che dell'altre mill'e mille, / perché 'n più d'amor faville / per l'amante fu trovata" (vv. 5–12).

[96] "Non faville, ma gran fiamma / fu l'amor di tal fornace, / e però fu fatta mamma / qui, da la divina pace; / unde tanto piacque e piace / a tutto 'l beato regno, / che non fu più 'l mondo degno / d'aver tale inamorata" (vv. 13–20).

[97] Psalm 126:6.

[98] "Perché pianse co' piangenti / perciò gode con chi gode, / né andò con passi lenti / per fuggir l'infernal frode; / e perché l'umane lode / umil fuggì piccolina, / come d'un gran re reina / sopra molti è exaltata" (vv. 21–28). Phil. 2:9.

who humbles oneself is made great;[99]
who stays united with God
cannot become puffed up with pride.[100]

5. Her lamp was always filled
with fire and oil.[101]
In order to buy the precious pearl
she gave what she had, which wasn't little.[102]
She now has the place of honor
at the wedding feast;[103]
she did not wish to make excuses,
instead, she kept the invitation.[104]

6. Because she had much,
much more was given unto her;
and not because she did not keep,
divine punishment was away from her.[105]
Her knife was always
sharp at all ends;
with this she always armed herself
and fled every bad smell.[106]

5. My poor little one, I am sending
you to whom you know.[107] Now go,
and, kneeling down, please say:
"May the one who is waiting for you,
soon find a place
among many bright lights,
because he is being consumed
by the long wait for you!"[108]

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[99] Luke 14:11; Matt. 23:12.

[100] "Trovata anco fu vegghiare / de la notte ogni vigilia, / unde al padre ministrare / molto piace a la sua filia. / E, insomma, chi s'umilia / el fa Dio grande grande, / imperò che non espande / chi con lui fa raunata" (vv. 29–36).

[101] Matt. 25:1–3.

[102] Matt. 13:45–46.

[103] Luke 14:8.

[104] "La sua lampana fornita / sempre fu d'olio e di fuoco, / per comprar la margarita / ciò c'aveva diè, non poco, / unde ha or principal loco, / a le nozze, dove andare; / non le piacque di scusare / ma ben tenne la 'nvitata" (vv. 37–44). Luke 14:15–18; Matt. 22:1–4.

[105] A paraphrase of Luke 19:26; Matt. 13:12; and Mark 4:24–25 of difficult interpretation.

[106] "E però che molto aveva / le fu dato sopra quello, / e non per che non teneva / le tolse el divin flagello; / sempre fu el suo coltello / da ciascuna parte aguzzo, / e per fuggire ogni puzzo / sempre d'esso sté armata" (vv. 45–52).

[107] The last stanza, known as an *envoy*, is missing from Capecelatro's edition of Pagliaresi's *lauda*. The addressee is ambiguous.

[108] "A cui tu sai che io ti mando / vattene, o mia poveretta, / e inginocchiata stando / dì:—Colui ti pur aspetta / che per te tosto ti metta / in fra tanti chiari lumi, / imperò che tu 'l consumi, / tanto t'ha già aspettata!" (vv. 53–60).

Feo Belcari, "Let every humble and devout heart"[109]

Feo Belcari was a prolific and proficient author of vernacular theology. He was a member of Florentine confraternities; closely associated with the Brigettines of the monastery of the Paradiso, the Gesuati, the mendicant friars, and the Medici.[110] Famed author of *rappresentazioni*, hagiography, sonnets, and *laude*, he was probably commissioned to write this *lauda* for the celebrations of her canonization. This is shown in the refrain with a call to sing about "the *new* saint of God, Catherine."[111] The manuscript dissemination of this *lauda* was relatively wide.[112]

Hagiography, as well as the sermon and bull of canonization by Pius II, have been identified as likely sources.[113] If it was commissioned for her canonization, perhaps Belcari and Pius II were cross-fertilizing. For instance, the analogy of Catherine with the ascetic desert monk Hilarion of Gaza, is found in both.[114] Moreover, Raymond of Capua attests that Catherine knew the lives of Desert Fathers.[115]

Catherine is also likened to Saint Paul. Their likeness had already been maintained in a sermon for Catherine, attributed by some to William Flete, that reached a similar conclusion, inviting the audience to admire and follow her example.[116] Indeed, Paul's letters provide the biblical *thema* for some sermons dedicated to Catherine.[117] But, Catherine's writings are an equally significant source for Belcari. For instance, Catherine's *Dialogo* develops her theology of penance from

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[109] "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core." Feo Belcari, "Laude di Sancta Caterina da Siena," ed. Cremonini, "Per l'edizione," pp. 416–18.

[110] Cremonini, "Per l'edizione," pp. 9–17.

[111] My italics. See below, Belcari's *Laude for Saint Catherine of Siena*, v. 3.

[112] Cremonini, "Per l'edizione," p. 126.

[113] Ibid., pp. 125–26.

[114] See Domenico Cavalca, "Vita di S. Ilarione," in *Vite de' Santi Padri*, ed. Bartolomeo Sorio (Trieste, 1858); id., *Vite dei santi Padri*, ed. Carlo Delcorno, Archivio Romanzo, 15 (Florence, 2009).

[115] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of St Catherine of Siena*, trans. George Lamb (1960; repr., Rockford, 2003), 1.2.27. See Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B, at I.1.31.861B (hereafter cited as *Legenda maior*; see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*).

[116] For discussion of this sermon and others on Catherine of Siena, see Muessig's chapter in the present volume.

[117] Ibid.

Paul's teaching on love in 1 Corinthians 13:1–3 and dedicates a whole chapter to Paul's ascent to the third heaven.[118]

Catherine is praised for her wisdom and knowledge, which she communicated to all Christians through her sermons, writings, and counseling. She is a *mediatrix* between God and humanity who desires the health and salvation of all. Her generosity grows from her loving desire for God and, more specifically, her desire for the blood of Christ. According to Belcari, she was given to drink from Christ's side in order to satisfy her longing for his blood. This is the only miraculous event recorded by Belcari, who omits references to her stigmata, in line with other early authors of her *laude*. Instead, the most significant legacies are her love and the wide benefit of Catherine's learning and wisdom that are to be gained by reading her books.

Lauda *for Saint Catherine of Siena*

To be sung like "Sì fortemente son tracto d'amore" or like "O lasso a 'mme, tapino isventurato."[119]

1. Let every humble and devout heart
   come and sing with fervor
   the praises of the new saint of God: Catherine.[120] [Refrain]
2. O my soul, if you want health and peace,
   take this virgin as your leading star.
   She, the new bride of the true God,
   was filled with truthful knowledge,
   adorned and beautified with all the virtues.
   She is a furnace of ardent charity.
   If she brought to each sinner so much love in this life,
   how much more in the heavens,
   where love is refined![121]
3. She was another Saint Hilarion for her penance,
   another Saint Paul for her ardent charity.

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[118] Catherine of Siena, the *Dialogo*, ch. 3 and 83.

[119] "*Laude di Sancta Caterina da Siena [...] si canta come*."

[120] "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core / ad laudar con fervore / la nuova sancta di Dio, Caterina" (vv. 1–3).

[121] "Deh, prendi questa vergin per tua stella, / anima mia, se vuoi salute e pace: / costei, del vero Dio sposa novella, / ripiena fu di scientïa verace, / di tutte le virtù ornata et bella, / d'ardente carità ell'è fornace: / se 'n questa vita a ciascun peccatore / portava tanto amore, / quanto più in celo, ove l'amor s'affina!" (vv. 4–12).

Through compassion, she gave
great aid and fervent counsel to all people
with many good works and sermons,
and with the pen of a high-flying eagle,[122]
because she longed for the health of everyone.
She also went through Italy,
becoming a cure against every evil done.[123]

4. Her doctrine is a heavenly sun
that enlightens all the ignorant ones.[124]
Her comfort turns tears into laughter;
it makes strong and constant every feeble heart.
If your faults separate you from Christ,
through her you'll be among the holy souls.
Against devils she's sword and shield;
she softens hearts of stone
in constant prayers to divine goodness.[125]

5. Do not marvel if Jesus Christ
gave to her blood to drink from his side;
only for this blood was her heart by God set alight,
while she despised the wretched world.
Yet, contemplating God she had seen
that God wants us to love our neighbor.
So, she gave herself with much love,
with pain and with delight,
to save every wretched soul.[126]

6. Read and read again, yet you will not find
in a thousand years a saint alike:
such resplendent rays of charity,
such bounty of wisdom and doctrine.

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[122] Isaiah 40:31.

[123] "Di penitentia un sancto Ilarione, / di carità un san Paulo ardente, / a ogni gente per compassïone / dava aiuto et consiglio, alto et fervente; / con molte opere pie et col sermone, / e con la penna un'aquila excellente, / la salute d'ogniun sempre bramava, / et per l'Italia andava, / d'ogni gran mal essendo medicina" (vv. 13–21).

[124] "The *Miracoli* of Catherine of Siena," in *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2005), pp. 87–104, at 94.

[125] "La sua dottrina è sol di paradiso, / che illumina ciascun, ch'è ignorante; / el suo conforto muta el piancto in riso, / ogni cor debil fa forte et constante; / chi per colpa sua da Christo è diviso, / col mezo suo sarà tra l'alme sancte; / contr' a' demoni ell'è coltello e scudo, / et mitiga el cor crudo / pregando sempre la bontà divina" (vv. 22–30).

[126] "Non ti maravigliar che Iesù Christo / le dette ber del sangue del costato, / per lo qual, disprezzando el mondo tristo, / solo il suo cor di Dio fu infiammato: / ma contemplando Dio ell'hebbe visto / che vuol che per lui il proximo sia amato: / però si dette poi con tanto affecto / con pena et con dilecto, / ad sovenir ogni anima meschina" (vv. 31–39).

In her books, now sung by the Church,
you'll see both Martha and Mary;
her great virtue heals every ailing heart.
Now, run at the feet of this great queen![127]

Serafino Razzi, "Who does not love Catherine"[128]

This is the first of three *laude* written by Serafino Razzi for Saint Catherine. Fra Serafino was a Dominican friar of the Observance from the convent of San Marco, in Florence, and a spiritual son of Catherine de' Ricci, who was herself an admirer of her Sienese namesake. Catherine de' Ricci was also a writer and was known as a stigmatic.

Written as a prayer of praise and invocation, the first four stanzas of this *lauda* are addressed directly to Catherine of Siena, the last two stanzas are a doxology of her stigmata, while the refrain sings a communal invitation to love her and her bridegroom. Its sources are mostly hagiographical; the sole influence of her writing is an invitation to bathe in the blood of Christ. The *lauda* develops as a brief hagiography of the saint, praised for her love of God, her virginity, constant prayers, and disdain for the world. She is trusted as a powerful intercessor. I think Razzi focused on the qualities of Catherine of Siena that would have been imitable by Dominican sisters such as Catherine de' Ricci to whom the book was addressed, especially because, following the Council of Trent, religious women were required to live under strict enclosure.

This *lauda* is in a book, dated 1563, which Razzi sent to his spiritual mother. It was to be the first of seven books of *laude* he dedicated to religious and lay women. It is unclear if Razzi wrote this *lauda* especially for the Dominican sisters, yet is noteworthy in terms of women's learning. Razzi tells us the *lauda* is to be sung like "Chi non ama te Maria," and provides the musical notes alongside the text.[129]

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[127] "Leggi e rileggi, tu non troverai / già fa mill'anni una simile sancta; / di carità si rispendenti rai, / di sapïentia et di doctrina tanta: / Martha e Maria insieme tu vedrai; / ne' libri suoi, che or la chiesa canta, / ciascuno infermo cor trova salute, / per la sua gran virtute: / hor corri a' piè di questa alta regina!" (vv. 40–48).

[128] Razzi, "Chi non ama Catherina," fols 25r–25v. (Facs. Bologna, 1969).

[129] Ibid., fols 23v–24r. See also Luisi, "La tradizione laudistica," pp. 350–55.

Lauda *for Saint Catherine by Friar Serafino Razzi*[130]

Who does not love Catherine
and her bridegroom is without heart.
Who does not follow her love,
is driven into a great ruin. [Refrain][131]

1. You are the young virgin
who loved Jesus so much.
Catherine, you are the one
who carried Jesus in her heart.
You followed your shepherd
who was your light and comfort.
He now hangs dead from the cross,
and turns his face towards you.[132]

2. Since your tender years
you were dedicated to the Lord,
you despised the world and its deceits,
so you're now blessed in heaven.
Oh immaculate young virgin,
please pray for us to our Lord,
that he may give us the gifts of his sacred love
and his divine grace.[133]

3. As a girl, while ascending
the fatherly ladder, you prayed
to our blessed mother Mary,
who now holds the keys to heaven's door.
You fervently prayed to her
that she may give you
her one and only son,
the cherished groom of your soul,[134]
o seraphic one.[135]

4. You disdained your blond hair
with the foolishness and vanity of the world.[136]

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[130] "Laude di Santa Catherina di Fra Serafino Razzi."

[131] "Chi non ama Catherina / e'l suo sposo è senza cuore; / chi non va dietro al suo amore / si conduce in gran rovina" (vv. 1–4).

[132] "Tu sei quella Verginella / che Giesù cotanto amasti, / Catherina tu sei quella / che Giesù nel cor portasti. / Il pastor tuo seguitasti, / la tua luce, il tuo conforto, / qual hor pende in croce morto / e in ver te sua faccia inchina" (vv. 5–12).

[133] "Per infin da tener anni / al signor fu dedicata, / spregiò il mondo co' suo' inganni, / onde in cielo hoggi è beata. / Verginella immacolata, / prega Dio nostro Signore / che ne doni il santo amore / e la sua gratia divina" (vv. 13–20).

[134] "*Miracoli*," in Fawtier, *Sources Hagiographiques*, p. 219.

[135] "Ascendendo fanciulleta, / le paterne scale, oravi / Maria madre benedetta, / che del ciel tien hor le chiavi. / Caldamente la pregavi / ti donassi il suo figliuolo, / caro sposo, unico, e solo / di tua alma o Serafina" (vv. 21–28).

[136] "*Miracoli*," in Fawtier, *Sources Hagiographiques*, p. 221.

Your thoughts were holy and pure
and your life more than human.
The willing hand of Jesus
exchanged his heart with this holy woman.
Now, in heaven feasting and singing,
is this morning star.[137]

5. Her sacred scars were a gift
from her eternal groom.
Happy were her side, hands and feet
for such a glorious gift.
Woe to me, I am in such pain
that I find myself frozen.
Pray that you may enter into that side,
o stinking soul of mine.[138]

6. You will be purified and washed clean
in that holy and sacred blood.
Then, this blessed virgin
will hold you beneath her mantle.
So, one day with her you may exalt
in heaven with feasting and songs,
when you will see the beauty, the soul,
and the divinity of Jesus.[139]

Serafino Razzi, "Dear Jesus, do you not realize"[140]

This is the first of two *laude* for Catherine of Siena in Razzi's last collection of *laude* for the saints. He considered this to be his last work, and, like his first, he dedicated it with affection to the Dominican prioress of Saint Vincent in Prato.[141] Razzi indicates in the preface his intended audience and didactic aims: his *laude* were principally—but not solely—written for "devout religious men and

[137] "Dispregiasti i capei biondi, / con il secol stolto, e vano. / Tuoi pensier fur santi, e mondi, / il tuo viver piu che humano. / Di Giesù l'inclita mano / scambiò il cuore a questa santa. / Hora in ciel fa festa, e canta / questa stella mattutina" (vv. 29–37).

[138] "Le sue sante cicatrici, / gli dono l'eterno sposo. / Lato, mani, e pie felici, / per un don si glorioso. / Ahime tristo, e doglioso, / che mi trovo si aghiacciato; / entra prego in quel costato / alma mia d'error sentina" (vv. 38–44).

[139] "Tu sarai monda, e lavata, / in quel sangue sacro, e santo; / questa vergin poi beata / ti terrà sotto il suo manto. / Onde in cielo in festa, e canto, / seco un giorno esulterai / di Giesù quando vedrai / la bellezza, alma, e divina" (vv. 45–52).

[140] "Giesu non vi accorgete," in Razzi, *Santuario di Laudi*, pp. 60–61.

[141] Razzi, *Santuario di Laudi*, p. i.

women" because singing was principally required of them; however, his *laude* are not only for singing but also are for learning.[142]

The *lauda* is written as an erotic dialogue, where Catherine and Jesus mirror each other in the exchange of hearts. Its aesthetic value appealed to Razzi, who explains it ought to be sung with fast and happy notes. The music for this *lauda* with four voices is given at the end of Razzi's book.[143] With an eye for historical details, Razzi adds that he composed it changing few words from a madrigal he heard while he was a lector of philosphy at the Dominican convent of Pistoia in 1564.[144]

Lauda *56: First* lauda *for Catherine of Siena*[145]

1. O Jesus, do you not realize
   you have taken my heart.
   Never have I kept it
   since the day I gazed upon you.
   Where is my heart gone
   so enflamed and so wounded?
   It is a miracle of love
   that I may live without a heart.[146]
2. O virgin, you may well
   say that you are happy,
   since I have given you this gift
   from the day I married you.
   A heart so delightful,
   wounded by eternal love.
   It is the miracle of love
   that has exchanged your heart.[147]

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[142] "Divoti Religiosi adunque, e Religiose," in Razzi, *Santuario di Laudi*, p. iv.

[143] Ibid., pp. 252–53.

[144] Ibid., p. 61.

[145] "*Laude 56: È di Santa Caterina da Siena, la prima.*"

[146] "Giesu non vi accorgete, / che lo cor mio tenete: / né tenuto hollo io mai, / dal dì ch'io vi mirai. / Ove cor mio sei gito, / sì acceso, e sì ferito? / O miracol d'amore, / c'io viva senza cuore" (vv. 1–8).

[147] "Vergin, ben vi potete / felice dir, che siete: / poscia ch'io vi donai, / dal dì ch'io vi sposai. / Un cor cosi gradito, / d'etterno amor ferito. / O miracol d'amore / che vi ha cangiato il core" (vv. 9–16).

Serafino Razzi, "Many daughters gather the treasures"[148]

This *lauda* is found in the same collection as the one above. It shows a structural similarity with medieval sermons: the first verse is from Proverbs 31:29 and functions like a biblical *thema* at the opening of a sermon. Razzi writes in the annotations that he had chosen this verse because it had been expounded by some teachers in reference to Catherine.[149] The *lauda* was to be sung in three voices, and its musical score is given at the end of Razzi's book.[150]

Its principal source is Raymond of Capua's hagiography, which is followed in language and details such as the comparison with Catherine of Alexandria and the names of the wedding guests (vv. 17–26). Razzi, however, softens the account of Catherine's care of the woman with a putrid wound (vv. 37–48). Raymond of Capua and the author of the *Miracoli* had described this event in different terms: Catherine said to have tasted great sweetness after drinking the oozing pus from the side of a sick penitent woman collected in a chalice, rather than the blood of Christ.[151] The resulting vision of Jesus and his invitation to drink from his side is found in Caffarini's *Legenda minor* of Catherine of Siena; but even Caffarini attributes the experience of sweetness to the first drink.[152] Razzi was probably aware of these three hagiographical traditions, and interpreted them as a whole in order to harmonize them. Nonetheless, given Razzi's general faithfulness to Raymond's *Legenda major*, I am puzzled by the discrepancy. Perhaps Razzi was uncomfortable with the materiality of a eucharistic analogy inferred in the account of Catherine drinking from a chalice which contained, not wine transubstantiated into the blood of Christ, but actual bodily fluid exuded from a woman's side.

The *lauda* sings of the five exceptional gifts granted to Catherine by God: first, her marriage to Jesus as a young girl; second, her drinking of Jesus' blood from his wounded side; third, her crowning with the

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[148] "Congregar lor ricchezze molte figlie," in Razzi, *Santuario di Laudi*, pp. 61–62.

[149] Razzi, *Santuario di Laudi*, p. 62. See Muessig's chapter in this volume in regard to the use of Prov. 31:29 in Catherinian sermons.

[150] Razzi, *Santuario di Laudi*, pp. 250–53.

[151] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.4.161.893E. See also Raymond of Capua, *The Life of St. Catherine of Siena*, trans. Lamb, 2.4.147; "*Miracoli*," in Fawtier, *Sources Hagiographiques*, p. 233.

[152] Caffarini, *S. Caterina da Siena: vita scritta da fra' Tommaso da Siena detto "il Caffarini*," trans. Bruno Ancilli (Siena, 1998), p. 81.

crown of thorns; fourth, the exchange of her heart with Jesus; and last but not least, her stigmata. The conclusion states that the gift of the stigmata has been disputed by some, but refers to the authoritative approval of Pope Clement VIII urging an end to the debates. It is unlikely that the Dominican sisters to whom this book was dedicated were arguing against Catherine's stigmata, so this demonstrates that his *laude* was intended to be read and heard by a wider audience.

Lauda *57: Second* lauda *for Saint Catherine*[153]

1. Many daughters gather the treasures[154]
   of virtues and habits,
   of knowledge and understanding,
   of merits and faith.
   But one excels in God's grace:
   Catherine.[155]
2. This holy virgin is Siena's honor,
   and all the treasures above said,
   by her were also had.
   In addition there were more
   which on a few, if any at all
   were bestowed.[156]
3. The first happened at a tender age,
   when as young and pure
   she consecrated
   her virginity to Jesus;
   so he married her
   in holy faith.[157]
4. The wedding was at the presence
   of Mary, Jesus' mother,
   of Dominic, her father,
   Saint John, the beloved,
   and David, who perfectly sung
   with the Psalter.[158]

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[153] "Laude 57: È di Santa Caterina, la seconda."

[154] Prov. 31:29.

[155] "Congregar lor ricchezze molte figlie / di virtuti, e costumi, / di scienze, e di lumi / di meriti, e di fede. / Ma Dio grazia l'eccede, / Caterina" (vv. 1–6).

[156] "Questa vergine sacra honor di Siena, / le ricchezze predette, / anch'ella possedette, / e ve ne aggiunse alcune, / di cui poche, ò niune / fur dotate" (vv. 7–12).

[157] "La prima fu cha havendo in teneri anni / della sua pura etade, / la sua verginitade, / a Giesu consacrata / da lui venne sposata, / in santa fede" (vv. 13–18).

[158] "Presenti furon à cotale sposalizio, / Maria di Giesu madre, / Domenico suo padre, / San Giovanni diletto, / Davitte, cantor perfetto, / col Saltero" (vv. 19–24).

5. This was not just a vision
as for the other Catherine.[159]
It was instead in the morning light
while praying in her room
singing lauds to the Lord,
the pious virgin was.[160]
6. The other singular gift of this saint
was when she was looking after
a sick woman; and repulsed
by a horrid wound,
she gathered the strength to make amends,
and kissed it.[161]
7. But Jesus, who restores those who
mortify and abase themselves
did not let go without reward.
a work done
with so much devotion
and so much love.[162]
8. He appeared to her one day in a secret
place, and gave her to kiss
and taste in abundance
his open side:
so sweet, so sacred,
and so precious.[163]
9. The third gift given to Catherine
was when badly
and with impatience
she put up with infamies,
and she began quarrelling
with the Lord.[164]
10. So, he appeared to her with two crowns:
one was golden and shining,
the other was stinging
and weaved out of thorns.

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[159] Catherine of Alexandria.

[160] "Ne fu questo atto in sola visione, / com'alla Alessandrina, / ma in luce mattutina, / mentre in camera orava / e il suo signor lodava, / la pia vergine." (vv. 25–30).

[161] "L'altro don singulare di questa santa / sì fu che in governando / certa inferma, e schifando / una sua piaga horrenda, / si fe forza, in emenda, / di baciarla" (vv. 31–36).

[162] "E Giesu, che ristora, chi per lei / si mortifica, e abbassa, / non lasciò irne cassa / tanta operazione, / fatta a sua divozione, / e per suo amore" (vv. 37–42).

[163] "Onde un giorno apparendole in segreto / luogo, le die à baciare, / e à molto ben gustare, / il suo aperto costato, / dolcissimo, e sacrato, / E precioso" (vv. 43–48).

[164] "Il terzo dono, fatto à Caterina / sì fu che malamente / e poco paziente / certa infamia portando / se ne gia querelando / col Signore" (vv. 49–54).

The first was decorated
with precious stones and pearls.[165]

11. The golden crown was in the right
and divine hand
of the good Lord Jesus.
The stinging crown
he kept in his left hand
while he spoke thus.[166]

12. "Daughter, from these two crowns
now you must choose one
and the one on the other side
will be kept for you.
Make sure you are sensible
and a good choice be made."[167]

13. As she was a prudent virgin
she chose the crown of thorns,
in order to obtain at the end
the one of gold, and to be conformed
to her spouse
who suffered so much here.[168]

14. The fourth gift and treasure
given by God to this saint
and to no other
was when her heart was changed
and in return
he gave her a better one.[169]

15. Jesus did this upon her request
because she often prayed
and with David sang
"Create in me a pure heart[170]
o sweet hope of mine,
o my sweet cherished one."[171]

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[165] "Onde le apparve un dì, có due corone / l'una d'oro lucente, / l'altra tutta pungente / di spine era intrecciata, / e la prima era ornata / a gemme, e perle" (vv. 55–60).

[166] "Quella d'oro portava nella destra / e sua divina mano, / il buon Giesu sovrano / e l'altra che pungeva / nella sinistra havea / così parlando" (vv. 61–66).

[167] "Una, figliuola, di queste corone / prender tu dei di quà, / e l'altra poi di là / ti sarà riserbata / dunque fa sii sensata, / in bene eleggere" (vv. 67–72).

[168] "Et ella che prudente Vergin'era, / prese quella di spine, / per havere alla fine, / quella d'oro, e al suo sposo / qua giù tanto penoso, / esser conforme" (vv. 73–78).

[169] "Il quarto dono, e le quarte ricchezze / che Dio fe à questa santa, / che altra non si vanta, / fu che le cangiò il core, / et un'altro migliore, / poscia le rese" (vv. 79–84).

[170] Psalm 51:10.

[171] "E questo Giesu fece a sua richesta, / peroche spesso orava, / e con Davitte pregava: / Un cor mondo in me cria, / dolce speranza mia, / dolce mio bene" (vv. 85–90).

16. After this exchange of heart
    she had a wondrous perception
    of the Sacrament,
    so that out of this
    she often smelt
    the sweetest scent.[172]
17. But the most singular treasure
    and the most renowned
    was when holy Jesus,
    impressed upon her
    his sacred stigmata.
    Praise be to the Lord.[173]
18. The veracity of this gift
    by Clement VIII,
    known as a prudent pastor,
    has now been approved.
    This was once challenged,
    but should now be settled.[174]
19. Instead give thanks to the divine goodness
    who can communicate
    its gifts to whoever it likes,
    without quarrel or context
    and without reprove
    nor reproach.[175]

Conclusion

The selection of six *laude* for Catherine of Siena illustrated here represents less than half the total number surveyed. The Appendix provides bibliographical information for all of them in order to facilitate further studies. My selection is a sampling and thus not definitive but preliminary. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern key points even at this stage. First, *laude* are a rich field in which to study the under-examined topic of vernacular theology. Second, these *laude* indicate that there is a consistency in the composition of the audience, while

[172] "Dopo la mutazion del core predetta, / mirabil sentimento / havea del Sacramento. / E di quello uscir fuore / soavissimo odore, / spesso sentiva" (vv. 91–96).

[173] "Ma le ricchezze sue più singolari / e le piu segnalate / fuor, che le sua sacrate / stigmate Giesu pio, / le impresse. Signor mio, / sii tu lodato" (vv. 97–102).

[174] "E di questo favore, la veritade, / dall'ottavo Clemente, / pastor detto, e prudente, / ne dì nostri approvata. / Fu, onde molestata, / esser non dee" (vv. 103–08).

[175] "Ma render grazie, alla bontà divina, / che può comunicare / suoi doni, a chi le pare, / senza lite, o contesa, / o senza esser ripresa / o biasimata." (vv. 109–14).

the focus of their subject, Catherine of Siena, is a fluid image. Further studies are needed to show if prevalence of female audiences and fluidity in content are characteristics of all her *laude* and, looking further afield, if these characterize vernacular theology in general.

An initial survey of the reception of manuscripts and early prints suggests that *laude* were often dedicated to women and collected alongside Catherine's own words. Many of the *laude* for Catherine had significant female readership, which reflects not only women's collaboration with Catherine's male admirers to disseminate her fame but also the attractiveness of her life and thought for a female public. Her audiences found a mirror in Catherine's deeds and words.

Her *laude* are related to her own works, as well as to sermons and hagiography written in her honor.[176] They illustrate some of the varying influences of Catherine of Siena and the different emphases given by her admiring audiences. For instance, Feo Belcari, who wrote at the time of her canonization, shows an emphatic appreciation for her preaching and writing.

All the *laude* give testimony to and foment Catherine's fame and, even though they do not offer a consistent image, it is still possible to establish a trend. *Laude* written by her contemporaries and Feo Belcari echo Catherine's language and were largely influenced by her teachings. By the 15th century, Catherine remains the loving and beloved bride of Christ, but she is no longer painted as the authoritative and nurturing *mamma*. Moreover, the influence of Catherine's language is almost lost in the 16th-century *laude* by Serafino Razzi, who chooses a hagiographical source. Razzi generally focuses on the miraculous events of her life, and her stigmata take center stage for the first time at the expense of the images of Catherine as the caring healer, authoritative teacher, and preacher. The focus of the lenses progressively moved from Catherine's words to her hagiographies, from her own teaching to the teaching of others about her. Catherine's love was the overarching light, but in a reversal of historical nomenclature, she was shown as a medieval woman of reason and a renaissance woman of miracles.

[176] In the future, a comparative study could clarify their relationships.

Appendix: Index of *Laude* and Hymns on Catherine of Siena

Index of 13 vernacular *laude* from the 14th to 16th centuries and four Latin hymns, with select bibliography. (* Indicates that the *lauda* has been translated in this article in English. + Indicates which text was used for the original vernacular of the *lauda*.)

14th-Century Laude

1. Anastasio of Monte Altino, "Dì in verità, mia pigra, tu che fai?"
   Dialogo de la seraphica vergine santa Catharina da Siena […] Insieme con la sua uita et canonizatione et alcuni notabili capitoli composti in sua gloria, et laude (Venice, 1547), fols 241r–243v.
   Storia di S. Caterina da Siena e del papato del suo tempo, ed. Alfonso Capecelatro, 2nd ed. (Naples, 1858), pp. 465–69.
2. Caffarini, "Sí forte di parlare io son costrecto"
   Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.9, fol. 148v.[177]
   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, it. 2178, fols 199–202.[178]
   "La 'laude' di Fra Tommaso Caffarini in onore di S. Caterina da Siena," in Pietro Rossi, "Una laude a riverenza della beata vergine S. Caterina da Siena," *Studi Cateriniani* 4 (1927), 70–99, at 86–95.
   Francesco Luisi ed., "La tradizione laudistica," in *La Roma di Santa Caterina da Siena* (Rome, 2001), ed. Maria Grazia Bianco, pp. 323–55, at 332–35.
3. Bianco of Siena, "Or ti guarda suora mia" *
   Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 651, fols 150v–151v.[179]
   Laude Spirituali, ed. Telesforo Bini (Lucca, 1851), pp. 157–68.
   "Lauda alla Beata Caterina da Siena," in Innocenzo Taurisano, *I Fioretti di Santa Caterina da Siena*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1950), pp. 131–36.[180]
   Silvia Serventi, forthcoming edition of *laude* by Bianco of Siena. +
4. Giovanni of Montelpuciano, "Nel glorioso cielo, ove s'infiamma"
   Dialogo de la seraphica (1547), fols 248r–251r.
   Capecelatro, *Storia* (1858), pp. 472–73.
5. Jacomo Cavalieri of Montepulciano, "Da l'alto polo," in Taurisano, *I Fioretti*, pp. 199–207.[181]

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[177] Catherine of Siena, *Libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Matilde Fiorilli (Bari, 1912), p. 424.
[178] "La 'laude' di Fra Tommaso Caffarini in onore di S. Caterina da Siena," in Rossi, "Una laude a riverenza," pp. 77 and 86.
[179] I thank Silvia Serventi for this reference.
[180] Zanini, *Bibliografia* (1977), 1:14.
[181] Ibid., 1:16.

6. Neri Pagliaresi, "Su, al cielo, è ritornata" *
   Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXVIII, 130, fol. 31r–v.[182]
   Dialogo de la seraphica (1547), fols 243v–244v.
   Capecelatro, *Storia* (1858), pp. 469–70.
   Giorgio Varanini, ed., *Rime sacre di certa o probabile attribuzione* (Florence, 1970), pp. 187–90. +
   Storia della letteratura italiana, ed. Enrico Malato, 3 vols (Rome, 1995), 2:310.
7. Neri Pagliaresi, "È spento il lume"
   Dialogo de la seraphica (1547), fols 244v–248r.
   Capecelatro, *Storia* (1858), pp. 471–72.
   Varanini, *Rime sacre*, pp. 199–215.
   Storia della letteratura italiana, 2:294.

15th-Century Laude

8. Anon., "Qual vergine a dio sia tanto acietta" (1400–1599?)
   Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Ital. 73, *Miscellany of religious verse and prose*, fols 13v–14v.[183]
9. Anon. Dominican, "O Serafina bella"
   Laude facte et conposte da più persone spirituali (Florence, 1502–10), fol. 58v.[184]
   Laudi spirituali di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo de' Medici, di Francesco Castellani e di altri comprese nelle quattro più antiche raccolte (Florence, 1863), p. 143.
10. Feo Belcari, "Venga ciaschun devoto et humil core" *
    Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1303, fols 44v–45r.
    Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnhamiano 480, fols 123v–124v.[185]
    Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV, 187, fol. 305r–v.
    Opera nova de laude facte et composte da più persone spirituali a honore dello omnipotente Idio et della Gloriosa Virgine Maria e di molti altri sancti e sancte (Venice, 1512), fol. 111r–v.[186]
    Laudi spirituali di Feo Belcari, pp. 28–29.
    "Laude di Sancta Caterina da Siena," in *Per l'edizione delle laude di Feo Belcari*, ed. Stefano Cremonini (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2006), pp. 416–17.[187] +

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[182] Varanini, ed., *Rime sacre*, p. 13.
[183] Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 107.
[184] I thank Silvia Serventi for this reference.
[185] Cremonini, "Per l'edizione," pp. 277–78.
[186] Ibid., p. 330.
[187] See ibid. for a fuller bibliography.

16th-Century Laude

11. Serafino Razzi, "Chi non ama Catherina" *
    "Laude di Santa Catherina di Fra Serafino Razzi," *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte. Le quali si usano cantare in Firenze nelle Chiese doppo il Vespro ò la Compieta à consolatione et trattenimento de' divoti servi di Dio [...] à contemplatione delle Monache, & altre divote persone*, ed. Serafino Razzi (Venice, 1563), ed. Serafino Razzi (Florence, 1563), fols 25r–v.
    Libro primo delle laudi spirituali, facs. (Bologna, 1969), as above. +
12. Serafino Razzi, "Giesu non vi accorgete" *
    "Laude 56: È di Santa Caterina da Siena, la prima," *Santuario di Laudi, o vero di rime spirituali per le feste di ciaschedun santo, solennemente celebrato per tutto l'anno da S. Chiesa: con eziandio quelle delle Feste Mobili: e di alcune da cantarsi nel vestire di Monache. Con brevi annotazioni in prosa. [...] Ad istanzia, e richiesta di persone spirituali* (Florence, 1609), pp. 60–61. +
13. Serafino Razzi, "Congregar lor ricchezze molte figlie" *
    "Laude 57: È di Santa Caterina, la seconda," *Santuario di Laudi*, pp. 61–62. +

Latin Hymns Attributed to Pope Pius II

1. "Quis sacra gesta canat"
   Dialogo de la seraphica (1547), fols 240v–241r.
   Capecelatro, *Storia* (1858), pp. 473–74.
2. "Haec tuae Virgo, monimenta laudis"
   Hymnario Dominicano in cui si comprendono tutti gli hinni, i quali adopera e canta il sacro ordine de frati Predicatori, e buona parte ancora di quelli che usa, e di cui si serve il Breviario Romano. Fatti nuovamente volgari e trasportati in versi sciolti, con alcune Annotazioni, ed. and trans. Serafino Razzi (Perugia, 1587), fol. 34 r–v.
3. "Laudibus Virgo, nimis efferenda"
   Razzi, *Hymnario Dominicano*, fol. 34v.
4. "Iam ferox miles, tibi saepe cessit"
   Razzi, *Hymnario Dominicano*, fol. 35r.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF CATHERINE OF SIENA'S STIGMATA*

Diega Giunta

During a solemn liturgy at St Peter's Basilica on the morning of 29 June 1461, Pope Pius II canonized Catherine of Siena.[1] On the afternoon of the same day in Rome's basilica of St Maria sopra Minerva, a church served by Dominican friars, the Franciscan bishop, Roberto Caracciolo, delivered a sermon for the occasion. We learn this from Caracciolo's later sermon on Catherine of Siena which he included in his *Sermones de Laudibus*: "On the day of the canonization, I gave a sermon after lunch in the church of Minerva of the Order of Preachers."[2]

Caracciolo divided his later sermon on Catherine into three parts. In the first, he exalted the qualities of the saintly woman with references to the Old and New Testaments; in the second, he spoke of the singularity of Catherine's virtue; and in the third part, he pondered

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* This chapter is an abridgement and translation of Diega Giunta, "La questione delle stimmate alle origini della iconografia cateriniana e la fortuna del tema nel corso dei secoli," in *Con l'occhio e col lume. Atti del corso seminariale di studi su S. Caterina da Siena (25 settembre–7 ottobre 1995)*, eds. Luigi Trenti and Bente Klange Addabbo (Siena, 1999), pp. 319–47. Hereafter, this will be cited as: Giunta, "La questione." The translator, Travis Stevens of Harvard University, expresses his gratitude to the editors of this volume (and especially Beverly Kienzle) for their suggestions. (Editors' note: The editors have made updates, adaptations and alterations of content based on scholarship appearing since 1999. They have also added some references to English-language studies which readers will find readily accessible in most research libraries.)

[1] *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942) (henceforth referred to as: *Processo Castellano*), pp. 510, 513, 530, 537.

[2] In the Latin sermon: "Ego insuper ea die canonizationis sermonem ad populum habui post prandium in ecclesia Minervae Ordinis Praedicatorum." Cited in Gerardo Cappelluti, "S. Caterina da Siena in alcuni *Sermones* del secolo XV," in *Congresso internazionale di studi cateriniani. Siena—Roma—24–29 Aprile 1980* (Rome, 1981), pp. 483–522, at p. 505, n. 21. (Hereafter cited as Cappelluti, "S. Caterina.") Roberto Caracciolo was born in Lecce around 1425 and died there in May of 1495. For more information on Caracciolo and his sermon, see ibidem, pp. 504–07. For further discussion of this sermon by Caracciolo, see Carolyn Muessig, "Catherine of Siena in Late Medieval Sermons," in the present volume.

the sublimity of her charismatic gifts.[3] Toward the end of his sermon, he recounted the mystical phenomenon of the stigmatization of Catherine, as reported in the *Legenda maior* of Raymond of Capua, disciple and confessor of the saint. In the *Legenda*, Raymond related in detail Catherine's reception of the stigmata:

> It happened in the city of Pisa, and I was present at it myself and witnessed it all. She had arrived in that city accompanied by a large group of followers including myself, and had gone to stay in the house of a gentleman of the city near the church or chapel of Santa Cristina. In that church one Sunday morning, at the virgin's own earnest request, I had celebrated Mass and had—to use the popular expression—"communicated" her. Afterwards, as was her habit, she remained for a considerable time in a state of abstraction from her bodily senses; for on such occasions her spirit, caught up into that union with the Supreme Spirit, her Creator, for which it ever thirsted, left her body far behind, as best it could. The rest of us were waiting until she would return to her senses, in the hope that she would then, as often happened, have some words of spiritual comfort for ourselves. Suddenly, before our eyes, her emaciated body, which had been prostrate on the ground, rose up to a kneeling position; she stretched out her arms and hands to their full length; her face grew radiant. For a long time she knelt like that, bolt upright, her eyes closed. Then, while we still looked on, all of a sudden she pitched forward on the ground as if she had received a mortal wound. A few minutes later she returned to her senses.
>
> In a little while, she sent for me, and spoke to me privately apart from the others. "Father," she said, "I must tell you that, by his mercy, I now bear the stigmata of the Lord Jesus in my body." I replied that while she was in ecstasy, I had been taking careful note of the attitudes and movements of her body, endeavoring to fathom their significance, and I asked her to describe the way in which our Lord had proceeded. She replied: "I saw our Lord, fastened to the cross, coming down upon me in a blaze of light. With that, as my spirit leaped to meet its Creator, this poor body was pulled upright. Then I saw, springing from the marks of his most sacred wounds, five blood-red rays coming down upon me, directed towards my hands and feet and heart. Realizing the meaning of this mystery, I promptly cried out: 'Ah, Lord, my God, I implore you not to let the marks show outwardly on my body.' While these words were still upon my lips, before the rays had reached me, their blood-red color changed to radiant brightness, and it was in the form of clearest light that they fell upon the five parts of my body—hands, feet, and heart."

[3] Cappelluti, "S. Caterina," p. 505.

"But," said I to her at this point, "did not one of these rays come upon your right side?" "No," she replied, "but one came upon my left side, straight down on to my heart. For the shining ray that sprang from his right side did not strike upon me diagonally but straight forward." "And now," said I, "do you feel any pain in those parts of your body?" With a heavy sigh she replied: "So intense is the pain I feel in those five parts, and especially in my heart, that I believe that nothing but a further miracle of our Lord will make it possible for this body to survive such suffering. In a few days, it must be the end of me."

These remarkable words, which filled me with sadness, moved me to look sharply at her to see if I could detect any sign of such great pain. When she had finished what she wished to say to me, we left the chapel and returned to her lodging. On our arrival she went to her room, and no sooner had she reached it than her heart gave out and she collapsed in a faint. We were all sent for, and on witnessing this new development, we burst out weeping, for now our fears were mounting that she whom we loved in the Lord was really about to leave us orphans. Not that it was unusual for us to see her rapt out of her senses by the force of that fervor which lay hidden within her; indeed, we often saw her reduced to the extreme of bodily weakness by the concentration of all her energies in the spirit; but we had never yet seen her swooning in a faint such as this.[4]

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[4] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Conleth Kearns (Wilmington, Del.: 1980), pars 2, c. 6, paragraphs 194–96, pp. 185–87. Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B (hereafter cited as *Legenda maior*; see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*), at II.7.194.901D–0902A: "…quod longo post hoc tempore accidit, me præsente pariter et cernente, in civitate Pisana. Dum enim ipsa illuc venisset, et quamplures cum ea, quorum ego extiti unus, ipsa hospitio est recepta in domum cujusdam civis, qui habitabat juxta ecclesiam sive capellam sanctæ virginis Christinæ. In hac ecclesia quadam die Dominica ad ejus instantiam celebravi, eamque (ut dixerim communi modo loquendi) communicavi. Quo facto ipsa juxta consuetudinem suam diu ibidem remansit absque corporeorum sensuum usu: quia spiritus eius Creatorem suum, summum scilicet spiritum, sitiens, quantum poterat, se a corporeis sensibus elongabat. Nobis autem expectantibus reditum ejus ad sensus corporeos, ut quippiam spiritalis consolationis reciperemus ab ea, sicut consueveramus quandoque; subito nobis cernentibus, corpusculum ejus, quod prostratum jacuerat, se paulisper erexit, et super genua stans, brachia extendit et manus, facie rutilante. Cumque sic diu staret totaliter rigidum et oculis clausis, tandem ac si fuisset lætaliter vulneratum, nobis cernentibus cecidit quodammodo in instanti, et post parvam moram reducta est anima ejus ad sensus corporeos.

Post quod mox fecit me vocari, et secrete me alloquens, ait: Noveritis Pater, quod stigmata Domini Jesu misericordia sua ego jam in corpore meo porto. Cumque respondissem, quod ad gestus corporis ejus, dum esset in extasi, perpendissem; petivi qualitet hoc a Domino factum fuisset. At illa respondens, Dominum, inquit, vidi cruci affixum, super me magno cum lumine descendentem: propter quod ex impetu mentis, volentis suo creatori occurrere, corpusculum coactum est se erigere. Tunc ex sacratissimorum

In his sermon, Caracciolo commented on Raymond's account of the mystical event with these reflections:

> Concerning the vision that she experienced, I have made clear in many places my intention to illuminate these invisible things by means of visible things, and by means of this clear depiction, to illuminate the sensible, uncontrollable, perhaps scarcely tolerable, pain. I have done all this, despite the error that has come out of it: the belief that she had received the visible stigmata.
>
> …I have examined and read quite a lot of the writings praising this saint, but I have not been able to find anything other than what I have already said about this pain that she suffered, without any bodily marks, in her ecstatic rapture. And though we may wish to interpret this pain with the name of stigmata, we cannot: the miraculous conditions of the stigmata of St Francis are neither contained nor included in it.
>
> I ask therefore both my Dominican and Franciscan fathers, that they not scandalize the people, whose saints and especially St Catherine offer them such marvelous things; that they give up and detest speaking of untrue things, because of the facts themselves and because the truth calls for the truth.
>
> These things do not add anything to, nor alter the sanctity of Catherine.[5]

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ejus vulnerum cicatricibus quinque in me radios sanguineos vidi descendere, qui ad manus et pedes et cor mei tendebant corpusculi: quapropter advertens mysterium, continuo exclamavi: Ha, Domine Deus meus, non appareant obsecro cicatrices in corpore meo exterius. Tunc adhuc me loquente, antequam dicti radii pervenissent ad me, colorem sanguineum mutaverunt in splendidum; et in forma puræ lucis venerunt ad quinque loca corporis mei, manus scilicet, et pedes, et cor. Tunc ego: Igitur non pervenit aliquis radiorum ad latus dexterum? At illa: Non, inquit, sed ad sinistrum, directissime super cor meum. Nam linea illa lucida procedens a latere ejus dextro, non transversaliter, sed recto tramite me percussit. Et ego: Sentisne nunc in locis illis dolorem sensibilem? Illa vero post magnum suspirium ait: Tantus est dolor quem sensibiliter patior in omnibus quinque locis, sed specialiter circa cor, quod nisi novum miraculum Dominus faciat, non videtur mihi vitam corpoream possibile stare posse cum tanto dolore, quin diebus brevibus finiatur.

Hæc ego notans et mecum non absque mœstitia conferens, attentus stabam, si viderem aliqua signa tanti doloris. Completis igitur omnibus quæ voluit mihi enarrare, de capella egressi sumus, et ad hospitium ubi hospitabatur accessimus. Ubi cum essemus, mox ut sacra virgo cameram, quam inhabitabat, intravit, ex defectu cordis syncopizabat. Quamobrem omnes vocati sumus, et novitatem hanc intuentes, flebamus et timebamus ne nos desereret, quam in Domino amabamus. Quamvis enim frequenter vidissemus eam ex tacito fervore raptam a sensibus, sæpeque aspexissemus ex abundantia spiritus multum debilitatam in corpore, numquam tamen syncopizantem tali modo hactenus intuiti fueramus."

[5] English translation is based on Cappelluti's Italian translation of the Latin text: Cappelluti, "S. Caterina," p. 505: "Da questa visione avuta, in molti posti alcuni fecero dipingere s. Caterina che riceve le stimmate da Cristo; che se l'abbiano fatto con l'intenzione di far conoscere le cose invisibili per mezzo delle visibili, e per mezzo di

Caracciolo supported his thesis that Catherine of Siena did not have the stigmata by arguing that "for the occasion of the canonization, the pope did not speak of stigmata in his sermon, nor in the bull, nor were pictures of the kind presented."[6]

For Caracciolo, such reasoning would be the Achilles heel of the veracity of Catherine's stigmata. For example, it is important to note that Gregory IX (1227–41), in his bull of canonization for Francis of Assisi did not make any reference to the extraordinary event of his stigmatization.[7] As for the images of Catherine with the stigmata, Sienese iconography that predates the canonization represents her alternately without (Fig. 1) and with the stigmata;[8] it also records the representation of the mystical phenomenon (Fig. 2). The official image of the saint for Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, made by Il Vecchietta (Fig. 3) just prior to the canonization in 1461, which has the luminous stigmata, is in keeping with the account of Raymond of Capua.[9] Thus Caracciolo either was oblivious to these images or ignored them.

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quel dipinto appariscente far notare il dorlore sensibile ma non controllabile, forse potrebbe essere anche tollerato, nonostante l'errore che ne è seguito di credere che avesse ricevuto le stimmate visibili.

…Ho guardato, ho letto, ed anche parecchio, gli scritti intorno alle lodi di questa santa, ma non ho potuto trovare altro se non ciò che ho già detto di quel dolore che soffrì, senza segni, nel suo ratto estatico. E se vogliamo intendere quel dolore col nome di stimmate, tuttavia in esso non sono contenute né incluse le condizioni miracolose delle stimmate di s. Francesco.

Pregherei pertanto i miei padri predicatori e minori che non scandalizzino i populi, ai quali vengono offerte…tante cose meravigliose sui santi e specialmente su s. Caterina; che lascino e detestino di parlare di cose non vere e per il fatto in sé e perché la verità si impone da se stessa.

Queste cose non aggiungono nulla, né alterano la santità di Caterina."

[6] Cappelluti, "S. Caterina," p. 505. In the Italian: "nella circonstanza della canonizzazione il papa non parlò di stimmate nel suo *sermo*, né nella bolla, né furono presentate pitture del genere."

[7] See Gregory IX's bull, 'Mira circa nos,' in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents. The Saint* eds. R.J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and W.J. Short, 4 vols (New York, 1999–2001), 1:565–69.

[8] For an early image of Catherine with the stigmata, see Andrea Vanni's *Saint Catherine of Siena and a Devout Woman*, fresco, Basilica of San Domenico, Siena, Italy, c. 1380. An image of this fresco is found in Giunta, "La questione," fig. 1, p. 355; see also George Kaftal, *Saint Catherine in Tuscan Painting* (Oxford, 1949), Fig. I, p. 21.

[9] Il Vecchietta's depiction of Catherine's stigmata treats them as an attribute which identifies the saint. The present study, however, will focus on images depicting the moment of Catherine's reception of the stigmata.

Figure 1. Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Catherine of Siena*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Art Museum, Fogg Art Museum, Gift of Sir Joseph Duveen, 1921.13. Date: c. 1462. © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Figure 2. Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, (1975.1.34). Date: 1447–49. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 3. Il Vecchietta, *Saint Catherine of Siena*. Siena, Palazzo pubblico, Sala del Consiglio. Date: c. 1460. Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Caracciolo, who demonstrated knowledge of Raymond of Capua's narrative, disregarded Catherine's explicit prayer to the Lord that her stigmata not be visible. She reported to her confessor:

> Then I saw, springing from the marks of his most sacred wounds, five blood-red rays coming down upon me, directed towards my hands and feet and heart. *Realizing the meaning of this mystery, I promptly cried out: 'Ah, Lord, my God, I implore you not to let the marks show outwardly on my body.'*[10]

The refusal by Caracciolo to consider Catherine of Siena's particular reception of the five wounds as actual stigmata encapsulates the long controversy between the Franciscans and Dominicans on this matter; its conclusion would be reached only in 1630 during the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623–44).

Key Moments in the Controversy

Caracciolo's sermon indicates that the controversy between the two mendicant orders was rather pointed. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Franciscans wanted to crush anything that could damage the prerogative of their founder, Francis of Assisi, to the exclusive right of the stigmata. Such an approach involved even the pontificate in the person of the Franciscan Sixtus IV (1471–84). The year following his election, Pope Sixtus issued a bull on 6 September 1472; here, on pain of excommunication, the pope prohibited the depiction of the stigmata in images of Catherine of Siena and forbade speaking about it in sermons. On 26 July 1475, the pope reaffirmed the interdict, possibly because the bull he had issued almost three years before had gone partly or totally unheeded. He maintained the interdict, but lifted the excommunication imposed with the first bull, when he ratified the decisions of the General Chapter of the Dominicans (Perugia, 10 May 1478), with which the Order of Preachers pledged not to depict images of Catherine with the stigmata and to cease preaching

[10] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine*, pars 2, c. 6, paragraph 195, p. 186. The italics in the last portion are the author's, transferred to the English translation of the text. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.195.901F: "…quapropter advertens mysterium, continuo exclamavi: Ha, Domine Deus meus, non appareant obsecro cicatrices in corpore meo exterius."

about the subject.[11] Despite authoritative, repeated interventions by Pope Sixtus IV and the taking of an official position by the Dominican order, there were still those who represented St Catherine with the stigmata and who spoke of it in preaching.

A famous preacher of that era was the Dominican friar Gabriel Bruni of Barletta, a slightly older contemporary of Caracciolo from the same region as the Franciscan, i.e., Puglia.[12] Honoring Catherine of Siena, Gabriel composed a sermon that was dedicated to demonstrating the conformity of the Sienese saint with Christ. Gabriel refers to the mystical event of the stigmatization in the second part of the sermon, in which he includes a very short and efficacious synthesis of the narrative by Raymond of Capua. After this, he follows with a series of sarcastic exclamations against the detractors of Catherine's stigmata: "O the fatuousness of some people! O the folly! Those who grumble against the saint of God, preachers of the Antichrist! O fools! O envious wretches! O perverts!"[13] The passage presents an example of the lively tone of the controversy. Gabriel attested, moreover, in the third part of the sermon that the duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, regained health after obtaining a relic of St Catherine. Gabriel tells us that the duke had in his palace a painting of St Catherine, depicted with the stigmata.[14]

Sixtus IV's immediate successor, Innocent VIII (1484–92), intervened with amnesty on 16 July 1490, ruling that existent images of Catherine with the stigmata remain unaltered. He prohibited, however,

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[11] Lidia Bianchi and Diega Giunta, *Iconografia di S. Caterina da Siena*, vol. 1: *L'Immagine* (Rome, 1988), pp. 79–80 with corresponding notes.

[12] Cappelluti, "S. Caterina," p. 508: Gabriel Bruni of Barletta was born during or about the 1430s and died sometime in the first decade of the 16th century; see pp. 507–22 for the treatment of Gabriel's sermon. See also Muessig's chapter in the present volume.

[13] Cappelluti, "S. Caterina," p. 519: "O fatuità di alcuni! O demenza! coloro che grugniscono contro la santa di Dio, che predicano, predicatori dell'anticristo! O senza ragione! O invidiosi! O perversi!"

[14] Cappelluti, "S. Caterina," p. 520. Perhaps Gabriel refers to the image of St Catherine painted in frescoes along with other saints, chosen personally by Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–76), in the chapel which he constructed (1472–73) in the *sala terrena* (large formal room with access to garden) of the Castello di Milano (Alessandra Ghidoli, in Bianchi and Giunta, *Iconografia*, cat. 108, pp. 229–30). Catherine was not unknown to the dukes of Milan. Sforza, born of Francesco and Bianca Maria Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeazzo, nephew of Bernabò Visconti, was a descendant of the latter. Catherine sent two letters to Bernabò Visconti and to his wife, Regina della Scala. These are respectively *Letter* 28 and *Letter* 29.

that the saint be depicted with this attribute in future artistic creations. The fact that Sixtus IV had acted as he did speaks volumes about the tension surrounding the issue.[15]

Alexander VI (1492–1503), conversely, was convinced of the authenticity of Catherine's stigmata by having observed in person the stigmata of another Dominican woman, Lucia of Narni (1476–1544).[16] He permitted that the woman from Siena be represented with the attribute that she deserved, but he did not send any official document to resolve the question left open by Sixtus IV, who had established that the prohibition remain in force "until the Apostolic See will have approved it for her, and will have conceded the same saint be depicted with the stigmata by a special privilege."[17] This appears to have been the case until, in June of 1598, Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) repealed the order of Sixtus IV. The Franciscans were against this, and the dispute between the two mendicant orders was revived. These reactions induced the pontiff to send out a bull (27 November 1599) addressed not to the two contending orders but, rather, to all bishops, for the purpose of entrusting the examination and the question of the stigmata

[15] Bianchi and Giunta, *Iconografia*, p. 80.

[16] Lucia of Narni, also known as Lucia Broccadelli, member of the Dominican convent of St Thomas in Viterbo, received the stigmata on 24 February 1496, which was the second Friday of Lent. In order to dispel doubts, Lucia had to submit to many examinations in order to ascertain scientifically the authenticity of her stigmata. A rigorous test was done on 23 April 1497 by the presiding commission of the Inquisitor of the Holy Office, the Dominican brother Domenico da Gargnano. During the interrogation, Lucia said to the Inquisitor that "St Catherine of Siena had with prayers and supplications achieved from our Lord Jesus Christ that the stigmata of Lucia would be visible and palpable, through faith and testimony of the stigmata of the same St Catherine" (Gildo Brugnola, *La Beata Lucia da Narni del Terz'ordine Domenicano* [Milan, 1935], pp. 59–60, 49–58). In the same year, another favorable outcome for the veracity of Lucia's stigmata occurs in the examination ordered by Alexander VI. The pope sent to Viterbo one of his personal doctors (Bishop Bernardo Buongiovanni of Recanati), a Franciscan bishop (whose name is unknown), and the Master of the Sacred Palace, the Dominican Brother Paolo Moniglia. In a letter of 18 January 1498, the pontiff ordered the Magistrati of Viterbo to take Lucia to Rome, threatening them with excommunication if they did not obey. The stigmatic woman arrived in Rome, where Alexander VI and several others who were with him could observe and touch the wounds. In dismissing Lucia, the pope entrusted himself and the whole Church to her prayers. For more information, see Ludwig Pastor, *Storia dei Papi. Supplemento ai Volumi I e III* (Rome, 1931), p. 328. [Editors' note: For a recent study on Lucia of Narni, see Tamar Herzig, *Savonarola's Women: Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 2007).]

[17] "…donec eadem Sedes Apostolica hoc approbaverit, et per speciale privilegium Sanctam ipsam cum ipsis Stigmatibus depingi concesserit," as cited in Giunta, "La questione," p. 323.

to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The question, having become a problem of general interest in the Church, was beyond the scope of the direct competence of the Dominican and Franciscan orders and had grown significantly in importance. Clement VIII even incarcerated a Dominican, Gregorio Lombardelli of Siena, for composing a treatise in defense of Catherine's stigmata. Three more decades would pass before a definitive solution to the question was found.

Urban VIII, in 1630, approved the liturgical office of the feast of St Catherine of Siena, thereby ratifying the miracle of the bloodless stigmata narrated by Raymond of Capua, as expressed in the fifth lesson for Matins:[18] "Immediately the rays changed from a bloody color into a resplendent one, and they shone through her hands, feet, and heart in the form of pure light."[19]

The Stigmata: A New Criterion of Authentic Sanctity

But why so much uproar? Today, it can be difficult to understand this long and heated controversy that gripped the late Middle Ages. It is, therefore, appropriate to step into the mentality of the era in order to appreciate the extent to which the stigmatization of Francis of Assisi was seen to bring about a sign of something totally new, in terms of the criteria of authentic sanctity. Indeed, the ideal of medieval sanctity was to conform oneself to Christ. Biblical narratives of Christ's life served as templates for all Christians to follow. We will see that for both Francis and Catherine, this perfect conformity to Christ's life was dramatically articulated in stigmatization—the miraculous reception of Christ's wounds.

In September 1224, during the days preceding the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), Francis was immersed in contemplation. He heard from a heavenly voice that he should open the Gospel, which he did three times:

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[18] Innocenzo Venchi, "S. Caterina da Siena nel giudizio dei Papi," in *Urbis et Orbis. Concessionis tituli doctoris et extensionis eiusdem tituli ad universam ecclesiam necnon officii et missae de communi doctorum virginum in honorem s. Catharinae Senensis virginis tertii Ordinis S. Dominici* (Rome, 1969), p. 441; for all the useful references to Catherine's stigmata, treated together in this paragraph, see pp. 430–41; the text will be cited hereafter as: *Urbis et Orbis.*

[19] "continuo radii colorem sanguineum mutaverunt in splendidum, et in forma purae lucis pervenerunt ad manus, pedes et cor eius," as cited in Giunta, "La questione," 324.

When all three times the book was opened, the Lord's passion always met his eyes. The man filled with God understood that just as he had imitated Christ in the actions of his life, so he should be conformed to him in the affliction and sorrow of his passion…

By the seraphic ardor of his desires, he was being borne aloft into God; and by his sweet compassion, he was being transformed into him who chose to be crucified because of the excess of his love. On a certain morning around the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, while Francis was praying on the mountainside, he saw a seraph with six fiery and shining wings descend from the height of heaven. And when in swift flight the seraph had reached a spot in the air near the man of God, there appeared between the wings the figure of a man crucified, with his hands and feet extended in the form of a cross and fastened to a cross. Two of the wings were lifted above his head, two were extended for flight, and two covered his whole body. When Francis saw this, he was overwhelmed and his heart was flooded with a mixture of joy and sorrow. He rejoiced because of the gracious way Christ looked upon him under the appearance of the seraph, but the fact that he was fastened to a cross pierced his soul with a sword of compassionate sorrow.

He wondered exceedingly at the sight of so unfathomable a vision, realizing that the weakness of Christ's passion was in no way compatible with the immortality of the seraph's spiritual nature. Eventually he understood by a revelation from the Lord that divine providence had shown him this vision so that, as Christ's lover, he might learn in advance that he was to be totally transformed into the likeness of Christ crucified, not by the martyrdom of the flesh, but by the fire of his love consuming his soul.

As the vision disappeared, it left in his heart a marvelous ardor and imprinted on his body markings that were no less marvelous. Immediately the marks of the nails began to appear in his hands and feet just as he had seen a little before in the figure of the man crucified. His hands and feet seemed to be pierced through the center by nails, with the heads of the nails appearing on the inner side of the hands and the upper side of the feet and their points on the opposite sides. The heads of the nails in his hands and his feet were round and black; their points were oblong and bent as if driven back with a hammer, and they emerged from the flesh and stuck out beyond it. Also his right side, as if pierced with a lance, was marked with a red wound from which his sacred blood often flowed, moistening his tunic and underwear…

Thus the true love of Christ had transformed his lover into his image…"[20]

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[20] Bonaventure, *The Life of St Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins (San Francisco, 2005), pp. 140–42. Bonaventure, *Legenda Sancti Francisci*, in *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, 10 vols (Quarrachi, 1882–1902), 8:504–48, at p. 542–43, c. 13, paragraphs 2–3, 5: "Sane cum in trina libri apertione Domini passio semper occurreret, intellexit vir Deo

Francis was the first person to receive the stigmata.[21] The phenomenon of a creature able to reproduce the suffering of Christ in itself was so extraordinary that it became unmistakable proof of sanctity.[22] After Francis, and particularly among mystics, other cases of similar phenomena were verified, which pushed the Friars Minor to defend the

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plenus, quod sicut Christum fuerat imitatus in actibus vitae, sic conformis ei esse deberet in afflictionibus et doloribus passionis…

Cum igitur seraphicis desideriorum ardoribus sursum ageretur in Deum et compassiva dulcedine in eum transformaretur, qui ex caritate nimia (cfr. Eph. 2:4) voluit crucifigi: quodam mane circa festum Exaltationis sanctae Crucis, dum oraret in latere montis, vidit Seraph unum sex alas (cfr. Is. 6:2) habentem, tam ignitas quam splendidas, de caelorum sublimitate descendere. Cumque volatu celerrimo pervenisset ad aeris locum viro Dei propinquum, apparuit inter alas effigies hominis crucifixi, in modum crucis manus et pedes extensos habentis et cruci affixos. Duae alae super caput ipsius elevabantur, duae ad volandum extendebantur, duae vero totum velabant corpus (cfr. Is. 6:2). Hoc videns, vehementer obstupuit, mixtumque moerore gaudium cor eius incurrit. Laetabatur quidem in gratioso aspectu, quo a Christo sub specie Seraph cernebat se conspici, sed crucis affixio compassivi doloris gladio ipsius animam pertransibat (cfr. Luke 2:35). Admirabatur quam plurimum in tam inscrutabilis visionis aspectu, sciens, quod passionis infirmitas cum immortalitate spiritus seraphici nullatenus conveniret. Intellexit tandem ex hoc, Domino revelante, quod ideo huiusmodi visio sic divina providentia suis fuerat praesentata conspectibus, ut amicus Christi praenoscet, se non per martyrium carnis, sed per incendium mentis totum in Christi crucifixi similitudinem transformandum. Disparens igitur visio mirabilem in corde ipsius reliquit ardorem, sed et in carne non minus mirabilem signorum impressit effigiem. Statim namque in manibus eius et pedibus apparere coeperunt signa clavorum (cfr. John 20:25) quemadmodum paulo ante in effigie illa viri crucifixi conspexerat. Manus enim et pedes in ipso medio clavis confixi videbantur, clavorum capitibus in interiori parte manuum et superiori pedum apparentibus, et eorum acuminibus exsistentibus ex adverso (cfr. Mark 15:39); erantque clavorum capita in manibus et pedibus rotunda et nigra, ipsa vero acumina oblonga, retorta et quasi repercussa, quae de ipsa carne surgentia carnem reliquam excedebant. Dextrum quoque latus quasi lancea transfixum, rubra cicatrice obductum erat, quod saepe sanguinem sacrum effundens, tunicam et femoralia respergebat… Postquam igitur verus Christi amor in eamdem imaginem transformavit (cfr. 2 Cor. 3:18) amantem."

[21] [Editors' note: Francis of Assisi's miraculous reception of the five wounds as described by early hagiographers has no precedent in religious literature. However, Marie d'Oignies (d. 1213) is reported to have borne some sort of stigmata before Francis. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 274. Reports of individuals bearing the stigmata are found even before Marie d'Oignies in crusading literature from the 11th and 12th centuries. But the exact nature of these stigmata is unclear. See William J. Purkis, "Stigmata on the First Crusade," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representative Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, Studies in Church History 42 (Woodbridge, UK, 2005), pp. 99–108. The editors are grateful to Paul Chandler for the Purkis reference.]

[22] André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 241 (Rome, 1981), pp. 514–18.

exclusivity of this privilege for their founder. This defense suddenly became polemical, between the Franciscans on one side and the secular clergy and Dominicans on the other.[23] With the death of Catherine of Siena, the already active controversy was transformed into a serious clash between Franciscans and Dominicans.

Caffarini and Catherine's Stigmata

Catherine died in Rome on 29 April 1380. In order to bring about her canonization, her numerous disciples, each according to their own capabilities, actively proclaimed the sanctity of the one whom they called *mamma*. In addition to Raymond of Capua (1330–99) and Stefano Maconi (c. 1350–1424), there was Caffarini (1350–1434), an early follower of Catherine who was notable for his zeal and initiative.

By the end of 1394, Caffarini had relocated to Venice, where he was associated with the church of San Zanipolo. For the whole of Lent in 1396, he preached on Catherine's conformity to the crucified Christ.[24] He composed a long treatise on the question of the stigmata, which he incorporated into his *Libellus de supplemento*. The *Libellus* had a double redaction: the first was finished before 1412, and the second completed by 1417–18.[25] In drafting the text, Caffarini followed the *Legenda maior* and supplemented it with facts not referenced by Raymond of Capua. In connection with the sixth chapter of the second part of the *Legenda*, where Raymond dwelled on some of the mystical phenomena for which Catherine was favored, including the gift of the stigmata, Caffarini did not follow Raymond's structure. Instead, he inserted into the *Libellus de supplemento*, as its seventh section, a treatise on the stigmata,[26] which resulted in a kind of book within a book.

Caffarini dedicated a full section of his work to the examination of the various types of possible stigmata, suggesting the active controversy between the two mendicant orders, even if the calm and objective

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[23] André Vauchez, "Les stigmates de Saint François et leurs détracteurs dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française à Rome* 80 (1968), 595–625.

[24] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), p. 404 (hereafter cited as Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*). See also *Processo Castellano*, pp. 245–53, 358, 360, 364, 367.

[25] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, pp. xxvi–xl and, in particular, p. xxvii.

[26] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, pp. 121–266.

tone of the treatment would not seem to support this. In the prologue, however, the author sheds a bit of light on the subject. In parallel with Raymond's *Legenda maior*, which dwells on the stigmata, he chooses to introduce his discourse with the hymn to charity by the Apostle Paul. Caffarini limited the direct citation to verses 4 and 6: "Charity is kind and not boastful, it is not perverse, it does not rejoice in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth,"[27] as he wished to eliminate all error and prevent any excessive boasting by placing truth and charity at the center of his discussion.[28] He concludes the prologue by saying he does not want to contravene anything the Church teaches "about the matter of the stigmata" (*circa stigmatum materiam*):[29] and if by chance he should happen to depart from this, he says he is ready to submit completely to the directive and correction of "holy mother Church."[30] Caffarini's discussion is based on the meaning of the term *stigma*, that is, "mark" or "sign"; and, in his meticulous and slightly pedantic way, he examines the various realities that could be designated with this term. He distinguishes various types of stigmatization, according to whether the signs are inflicted by the subject himself or herself, or by others, and in the latter case, whether by persons friendly or unfriendly or by supernatural intervention, which could come from either God or the devil. He stops to describe the various forms and manifestations that these signs could present.[31] A vast and variegated panorama of cases includes many visualizations with drawings in the margins or in the body of the page of two extant manuscripts (Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.2 and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1574).

It is useful here to show, in the briefest way, the evolution of the term *stigmata*. In the Greco-Roman world, it indicated the marks of ownership or punishment in the case of a fugitive slave. For Paul of Tarsus, they were the torments suffered by Christ:[32] "For I wear on my

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[27] 1 Cor. 13:4, 6: "Caritas benigna est et non emulatur, nec agit perperam, nec gaudet super iniquitate, congaudet autem veritati."

[28] The original Italian reads thus: "Quanto si prefigge Tommaso da Siena, che, con l'aiuto di Colui che è via, verità, et vita, e nostra pace, si dispone ad eliminare del tutto errori o qualsiasi disordinata emulazione per mettere al centro della sua trattazione *la verità e la carità*" p. 327.

[29] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, p. 122.

[30] The Latin phrase is "sancte matris Ecclesiae." Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, p. 122.

[31] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, pp. 122–50, 181–87.

[32] The term *stigmata* in the letter to the Galatians, according to Paul Andriessen, is understood by the Apostle and his medieval commentators as a spiritual mark,

body the marks of Christ."[33] These marks, in contrast to circumcision, become the marks of belonging to the new Law; subsequently, they came to indicate the wounds in the hands, feet, and side, produced in the body of Christ by the nails and lance following the Crucifixion: the five wounds, object of a particular devotion since the Middle Ages. In modern usage, the term is generally understood to be the manifestation of the extraordinary phenomenon of the imposition of five wounds—permanent or temporary, visible or invisible, but accompanied by suffering and pain—or of other phenomena or episodes of the Passion.[34] This understanding is also present in both Caffarini's treatise and his explicatory drawings.

The central focus of Caffarini's seventh treatise is a section relating to stigmata provoked by celestial intervention. He offers four cases as examples: that of St Francis of Assisi and those of three blessed Dominicans: Helen of Hungary (1235–85); Walter of Strasbourg (d.1264), who received the stigmata in a convent of the Friars Minor;[35] and Catherine of Siena.[36] Caffarini's definition of the mystical phenomenon was both precise and ahead of its time. In his treatise, he strives to take into account the relevant hagiographical narrative in order to correct errors, which might be introduced in the representation of the event. He himself provides examples for visual representation, by describing the four cases of Francis, Helen, Walter, and Catherine, with the distinguishing characteristics of each (Fig. 4).[37] We will see that Caffarini's treatise and the visual examples of the stigmata provided therein shaped the early iconography of Catherine's stigmatization.

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or the indelible character imprinted on the soul in the sacrament of baptism (Paul Andriessen, "Les stigmates de Jésus," *Bijdragen Tijdshrift voor Filosofie en Theologie Falcuteiten der Nederlandsche Jezuientenjd* 13 (1962), 139–54.

[33] Gal. 6:17: "Ego enim stigmata Christi in corpore meo porto."

[34] E. Rosa, "Stigmate," in *Enciclopedia italiana*, vol. 32 (Rome, 1949), p. 732.

[35] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, p. 177.

[36] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, pp. 158–81.

[37] For the attribution and dating of the drawings, see M.A. Mongini, "Il ruolo dell'immagine nei due codici del *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 45.4 (1997), 179–205; and the files of the Archivio iconografico of the Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani in Rome. For the Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.2 drawings, see Giunta, "La questione," fig. 181, p. 424.

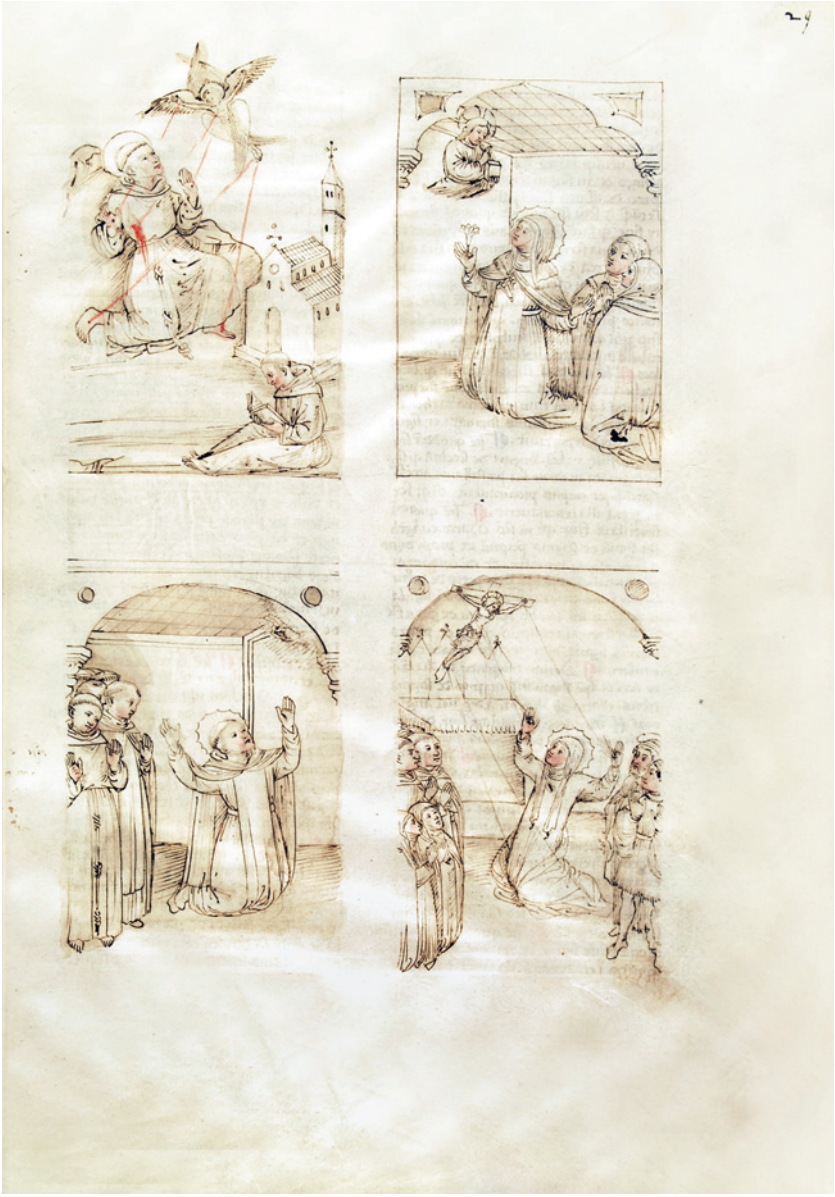

Figure 4. *Francis of Assisi, Helen of Hungary, William of Strasbourg and Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata*. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1574, fol. 29r. Date: First quarter of the fifteenth century. With permission of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. It is forbidden to reproduce or duplicate, by any means, these images.

The Portrayal of Catherine's Stigmata Before the Canonization

Caffarini influenced two typologies of Catherine receiving the stigmata; these typologies differ in nuance rather than in substance. Examples of the two sorts of classification can be seen in successive representations of Catherine receiving the stigmata. The first typology can be seen in the aforementioned drawings of the *Libellus de supplemento* (Fig. 5).[38]

The intent of the above examples, especially in their adhesion to Caffarini's hagiographical text, is quite clear in the drawing of the Siena manuscript of the *Libellus* but, above all, in the Bologna manuscript (Fig. 4). The halo, with a wavy contour that recalls the rayed halo proper to the blessed, is attributed to Catherine and likewise to the two other Dominicans who received the stigmata, in contrast to the canonized Francis of Assisi, illustrated with his rounded halo.[39] In the Bologna and Siena drawings, the central moment of Catherine's stigmatization is captured; in the presence of some of her disciples, lay people, *mantellate* and Dominican brothers, Catherine is receiving the stigmata from the crucified Christ, whom she contemplates in a vision (Fig. 5). The crucifix lacks some of the visual rendering of the "great light" in which Catherine is manifested. Nonetheless, it is apparent through its position that it alludes to a vision and not to the image already in existence in the chapel of St Cristina in Pisa, which tradition now identifies as the *Crucifix of the stigmata of St Catherine of Siena*.[40] In this way, Caffarini ensures that the depiction of the stigmatization of Catherine adheres closely to the account of the event as described in Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior*.

The drawing of the Bologna codex represents the lines of five rays coming from the wounds of the crucified Christ. The rays strike the hands and feet diagonally, and Catherine's side in a straight line. The small rays, which emanate from the palm of the hands and from under the heart, attest to the transition in color of the five larger rays, which a monochrome image of the drawing cannot express: the blood from

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[38] See also Giunta, "La questione," fig. 181, p. 424; fig. 182, p. 425; and fig. 184, p. 426.

[39] The distinction between the rayed halo proper to the blessed and the rounded halo of the canonized is quite clear between the promoters of the cult of Catherine, as a result of the depositions of two Dominicans, the inquisitor Brother Bartholomew of Ferrara and Caffarini. The latter attested that Catherine was being "depicta more beatarum." *Processo Castellano*, pp. 92, 28, 8; Bianchi and Giunta, *Iconografia*, pp. 69, 78.

[40] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 206, p. 434.

Figure 5. *Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata*. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1574, fol. 29r (detail). Date: First quarter of the fifteenth century. With permission of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. It is forbidden to reproduce or duplicate, by any means, these images.

the crucified Christ assumes a resplendent color and finally arrives in the form of pure light at the hands, feet, and heart of Catherine.[41] This followed her prayer exclaiming the mystery of stigmatization: "Ah! Lord, my God: I pray that these scars not appear on the outside of my body."[42] To Raymond, who asks, "no ray reached your right side?" Catherine clarifies: "No, but one came upon my left side, straight down onto my heart. For the shining ray that sprang from his right side did not strike upon my heart diagonally but straight forward."[43] In Raymond's *Legenda maior*, Catherine does not indicate anything else about the rays. However, it has been suggested in recent studies that when Catherine saw the rays change from red to gold, she also saw them change direction from diagonal to straight lines.[44]

Regardless of a lack of textual description in Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* regarding the direction of the rays, the lines which mark Catherine's stigmata in the iconographical depictions of the event are diagonal. In order to understand the significance of this, we must turn to the stigmatization of Francis of Assisi and to Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* of Francis, written more than 100 years before Raymond's *Legenda maior* of Catherine of Siena.[45] In Bonaventure's work, there are no references to the route of the rays that stigmatize Francis. Furthermore, Francis was conscious of the miracle performed on his body by the vision of the Christ-Seraph: "Immediately the marks of the nails

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[41] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine*, pars 2, c. 6, paragraph 195 (see n. 6), p. 186. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.195.901F: "Tunc adhuc me loquente, antequam dicti radii pervenissent ad me, colorem sanguineum mutaverunt in splendidum; et in forma puræ lucis venerunt ad quinque loca corporis mei, manus scilicet, et pedes, et cor."

[42] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine*, pars 2, c. 6, paragraph 195, p. 186. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.195.901F: "Ha, Domine Deus meus, non appareant obsecro cicatrices in corpore meo exterius."

[43] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine*, pars 2, c. 6, paragraph 195, p. 186. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.7.195.901F: "Igitur non pervenit aliquis radiorum ad latus dexterum? At illa: Non, inquit, sed ad sinistrum, directissime super cor meum. Nam linea illa lucida procedens a latere ejus dextro, non transversaliter, sed recto tramite me percussit."

[44] Chiara Frugoni writes, "Catherine, at the same moment when she asks God to render her stigmata invisible, sees the rays change color and direction: the red transforms into gold; the diagonal direction becomes straight" (*Des stigmates*, in *Catherine de Sienne* [exhibition catalog] (Avignon, 1992), pp. 66–67, p. 74, n. 22. She reaffirms her opinion in *Francesco e l'invenzione delle Stimmate: Una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin, 1993), p. 219.

[45] Frugoni, *Des stigmates*, p. 61; ead., *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, pp. 3, 24–34.

began to appear in his hands and feet just as he had seen a little before in the figure of the man crucified."[46] For Bonaventure, who conformed to the testimony of brother Elias of Cortona (d. 1253), Francis is another Christ: he sees on his flesh the signs that Christ himself received on the cross; his suffering and his identification with Christ are not only of a spiritual nature, according to the interpretation dating to the first biography, by Thomas of Celano, but also physical.[47] Bonaventure "suggests a superimposition of the body of Francis to that of Christ," and, minimizing the traits of the seraph, specifies that the celestial being is Christ:[48] "and so between his wings appeared the image of a crucified man, who had his hands and feet stretched out and nailed to the cross"; and Francis "showed a joyful attitude, the same one with which Christ, in the figure of the seraph, looked at him."[49]

The "normalization" of Bonaventure reflected the iconography of the miracle at Mount La Verna, and Giotto codified it in art. If Bonaventure "normalizes" and offers "a univocal, peaceful version of the miracle at Mount La Verna, easy to illustrate, but profoundly altered in substance,"[50] the genius of Giotto, in successive works, is the codification of a similarly univocal iconographical schema, fully in tune with the meaning of Bonaventure's message: Francis is the physical copy of Christ. In order for the artist to achieve harmony with Bonaventure's interpretation, Giotto devised a new direction for the rays connecting Christ to the stigmatization. We see this in the way Giotto developed his painting of Francis's stigmatization. His depictions include the

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[46] Bonaventure, *The Life of St Francis*, trans. Cousins, p. 141. Bonaventure, *Legenda Sancti Francisci* in c. 13, paragraph 3, p. 543: "Statim namque in manibus eius et pedibus apparere coeperunt signa clavorum (John 20:25) quemadmodum paulo ante in effigie illa viri crucifixi conspexerat."

[47] Frugoni, *Des stigmates*, pp. 61–62; ead., *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, pp. 26–28, 51–70, 150, 174–80. [Editors' note: The author here is following and accepts the argument posited by Frugoni in her book *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*. Frugoni proposes that Thomas of Celano's understanding of Francis's stigmata was metaphorical rather than actually physical. For Bonaventure, Francis's stigmata were very definitely real as it indicated his complete conformity to Christ. To portray this complete conformity, the artist Giotto ultimately developed a visual innovation: the rays from Christ went from Christ's left hand to Francis's left hand, and so on, to indicate that Francis was an *alter Christus*, a mirror image of the God-man.]

[48] Frugoni, "Francesco d'Assisi, Santo," p. 375; ead., *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, p. 176.

[49] Bonaventure, *The Life of St Francis*, trans. Cousins, p. 141. Bonaventure, *Legenda Sancti Francisci*, c. 13, paragraph 3, l. 3, p. 543: "…apparuit inter alas effigies hominis crucifixi, in modum crucis manus et pedes extensos habentis et cruci affixos."

[50] Frugoni, "Francesco d'Assisi, Santo," p. 375; ead., *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, p. 174.

fresco in the Upper Basilica at Assisi,[51] the Louvre painting (originally from the church of San Francesco in Pisa), and the *Stigmatization* in the Bardi Chapel in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Florence.[52] In the paintings of Assisi and the Louvre (Fig. 6), the rays mark Francis in a straight line: the ray that begins at the right hand of Christ finishes in the left hand of Francis, and so on; in the Bardi Chapel (Fig. 7);[53] instead, the rays that start in the Christ-Seraph strike the corresponding places on the body of the saint diagonally: from the left hand of Christ to the left hand of Francis and likewise for the other four. With the straight lines, Giotto is still in the influential visual world of Thomas of Celano; the stigmata of Francis express an identification with the suffering of the crucified Christ and a spiritual participation in it. With the crossed lines, he interprets the ultimately victorious thesis of Bonaventure: Francis is "another Christ" (*alter Christus*).[54]

If we turn to the stigmatization of Francis in the two manuscripts of Caffarini's *Libellus* (Fig. 8),[55] we see the choice to use Giotto's crossed rays as found in the Bardi Chapel. This choice appears to be in clear contradiction with the declared wishes of Caffarini who wanted the images to abide by the hagiographical narrative "for greater evidence of the truth."[56] But it is not a contradiction, for while neither the *Legenda maior* by Bonaventure nor the preceding Franciscan textual sources mention the rays, the iconographic sources do present them. Caffarini, then, was faithful to the hagiographical narrative and at the same time demonstrated that he knew and accepted the iconographic expedient for expressing the pivotal miracle at Mount La Verna in the interpretation dating to Bonaventure's official biography.

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[51] Editors' note: The attribution to Giotto of the St Francis cycle in the upper church in Assisi is an issue that is disputed among historians of art. For further discussion, see Bruno Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini: La questione di Assisi e il cantiere medievale della pittura a fresco*, Biblioteca d'arte Skira 5 (Milan 2002). There is an English synopsis of Bruno Zanardi's thesis. See Bruno Zanardi, "Giotto and the St Francis Cycle at Assisi," in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, eds. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (New York, 2004), pp. 32–62.

[52] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 189, p. 428.

[53] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 189, p. 428. [Editors' note: For futher discussion of the stigmatization of Francis as depicted in the Bardi Chapel, see Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park, 1988).]

[54] For further information on the text beyond n. 60, see Frugoni, *Des stigmates*, pp. 61–65; id., *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, pp. 3, 51, 179–80, 182, 203–22; Idem, "Francesco d'Assisi, Santo," pp. 374–76.

[55] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 181, p. 424; fig. 182, p. 425.

[56] "pro maiori evidentia veritatis." Frugoni, *Des stigmates*, pp. 69–70.

Figure 6. Giotto, *Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Date: 1295–1300. Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 7. Giotto, *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Florence, Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel. Date: c. 1305. Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 8. *Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1574, fol. 29r (detail). Date: First quarter of the fifteenth century. With permission of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. It is forbidden to reproduce or duplicate, by any means, these images.

Regarding the *Stigmatization* of Catherine in the Bologna codex,[57] the path of the ray from Christ's side respects Catherine's account as described in the *Legenda maior*, while the four other rays which leave the wounds of Christ and strike Catherine's hands and feet, following a crossed trajectory (Fig. 4). The meaning of Caffarini's choice to follow Giotto's crossed-trajectory precedent leaves not even a shadow of a doubt: the invisible and bloodless stigmata of Catherine are as true as the bloody and visible stigmata of Francis. Her conformity to Christ crucified is thus unequivocal. Catherine's stigmatization is completed in a context quite natural to it, during an intense and profound meditation of prayer, transmuted into ecstasy, which Catherine habitually experiences after receiving the Eucharist. So, in this first typology we see the hallmarks of Raymond's *Legenda maior* account in that the stigmatization takes place in a church before eyewitnesses while Catherine is experiencing a vision. Caffarini, however, also appropriates the visual precedent of Francis's crossed rays and applies this to Catherine to represent her conformity to Christ.

Also ascribable to Caffarini's influence is a second classification of Catherine's stigmatization: this can be evidenced in Andrea di Bartolo's small altar piece of Catherine of Siena and four other *mantellate* (1394–98) (Fig. 9);[58] the miniatures of the *Legenda maior* of Nuremberg and of Paris;[59] the wooden panel painting of Giovanni di Paolo (Fig. 2); and the fresco at the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinego, in Brescia.[60] The hallmark in this second typology is that Catherine is completely alone rather than surrounded by eyewitnesses. The focus is on her meditation on Christ at the moment of stigmatization. While the scene

[57] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 184, p. 426.

[58] [Editors' note: Caffarini may have commissioned this altarpiece. See Gaudenz Freuler, "Andrea di Bartolo, Fra Tommaso d'Antonio Caffarini, and Sienese Dominicans in Venice," *The Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 570–86.] The reduced dimensions (97 × 65 cm) indicate that the painting was intended for private devotion. It might have belonged to the tertiary Dominican school of Corpus Christi, founded in Venice by Giovanni Dominici (1355/56–1419), an ardent follower of Catherine. The painting has been attributed to Andrea di Bartolo of Siena (C. Gilbert, "Tuscan Observants and Painters in Venice, ca. 1400," in *Interpretazioni veneziane. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984), 109–20; Freuler, "Andrea di Bartolo, Fra Tommaso d'Antonio Caffarini, and Sienese Dominicans in Venice"; Peter Humfrey, *La Pittura veneta del Rinascimento a Brera* (Florence, 1990), and dated to 1394–98 by the last two studies (see Lidia Bianchi, "Caterina da Siena, Santa," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, ed. Marina Righetti Tosi Croce, 12 vols (Rome, 1991–2002), 4:490–91.

[59] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 183, p. 426; fig. 185, p. 427; and fig. 186, p. 427.

[60] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 188, p. 427.

Figure 9. Andrea di Bartolo, *Polyptych of Catherine of Siena and Four Other Mantellate*. Murano, Museo del Vetro, 1394–98. With permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia).

of Catherine's reception of the stigmata in the Murano altarpiece and the other example lacks eyewitnesses, the fidelity to Raymond's text is still respected through a reference to the location of the event, that is, in a church at the actual moment of the reception of the stigmata.

As indicated above, Giovanni di Paolo follows this second typology in one of the compartments (Fig. 2) of the dismantled *Pala dei Pizzicaiuoli* (1447–49). The same typology can be seen in the fragmentary fresco from the church of St Catherine in Brescia.[61] This fresco, which was likely executed between 1420 and 1450,[62] contains the image of Catherine alone, at the moment of the reception of the stigmata, kneeling in front of an altar staring at the vision of Christ-crucified. Next to this image is Francis—recognizable by the open palm of a stigmatized hand and by the small, distinctive building perched on a short plateau at the foot of Mount La Verna—which is on the left of the *Virgin enthroned with Child* and a *Prophet*. The juxtaposition of the stigmatized Francis on the left and the *Stigmatization* of Catherine represented on the right is provocative. From the very beginning of the depiction of Catherine's as-yet-unofficial stigmata, the same dignity of composition granted to the portrayals of both Francis and Catherine, and the diagonal path assigned to the rays that mark Catherine, demonstrate the clear will to recognize in Catherine the mystery of grace that some desired to be the exclusive right of the man of Assisi.

Common to all the subjects is the representation of the crucifix, which refers to the vision and not to the devotional object. With the exception of the wooden panel painting of Giovanni di Paolo (Fig. 2), in the other scenes of Catherine examined here, the rayed halo of the blessed is always present.

The Figuration of the Stigmata after the Canonization (1461): Some Developments

The *Stigmatization* of Catherine of Siena in a book of hours, which is believed to have belonged to Eleanor of Hapsburg (1498–1558), the second wife of Francis I, once more takes up the schema of the

[61] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 188, p. 427.

[62] See the files held at the Archivio of the Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani, edited by A. Spiriti.

first Caffarinian typology quite faithfully.[63] A woman in blue, kneeling before Catherine, acts as the liaison between the saint who receives the stigmata, impressed by bloody rays with a diagonal trajectory, and the sizable group of historical eyewitnesses, all on the left of the onlooker. Also the manner of draping the black cape, slipped from the shoulders, recalls the scenes of the *Libellus*.[64] The rayed halo, typical of the representation of Catherine before her canonization in 1461, reveals that the miniature has imitated an older model and at the same time confirms the thesis of a decoration stylistically later than the 14th century.[65]

Guidoccio Cozzarelli's (1450–1516) wooden panel painting[66] (Fig. 10), the covering for a register of the Ufficio Generale della Gabella in Siena for the year 1498, takes us back to the "question of the stigmata," either because of the era of its execution or via the figure of the pontiff, seated on the cathedra in the niche adjacent to the chapel where the extraordinary event took place.[67] The right hand of the pontiff directs the gaze toward the stigmatization, while he attests to the veracity of Catherine's stigmata with the words *Stigmata passa fuit* [she endured the stigmata] quite legible on the scroll which he holds in the left hand. The reading "Stigmata passa fuit" constitutes the first part of the verse: "Stigmata passa fuit, dictu mirabile, Christi" [According to the miraculous report, she endured the stigmata of Christ] from the *Poema* in hexameter, composed by Pius II in honor of his fellow citizen of Siena. This is a personal approbation reputedly from a short poem, attributed to him (*Nata Senis virgo Catharina est stigmata passa* [Born in Siena, the virgin Catherine endured the stigmata]), which is the counterpart to the official liturgical document: the hymn of vespers for the office of the feast of the saint, approved by the same Pius II: "Vulnerum formam miserata Christi/ Exprimis ipsa."[68]

The position taken by Pope Pius II at the moment of the canonization and the execution of the Gabella panel painting, which falls during the pontificate of Alexander VI (1492–1503), have predisposed

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[63] See Henry D'Orquelaulz (attr.), *Catherine receives the stigmata*, in a book of hours of the Use of Metz (c. 1440) (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 10533), fol. 134v. For a color image, see http://www.centrostudicateriniani.it/1/1cronologia.html. The image can be seen by scrolling halfway down the page. For a printed image, see Giunta, "La questione," fig. 191, p. 428.

[64] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 181, p. 424; fig. 184 p. 426.

[65] Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1927), 1:333.

[66] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 194, p. 429.

[67] C. Alessi, cat. 128, in *Catherine de Sienne* [exhibition catalog], p. 278.

[68] Venchi, in *Urbis et Orbis*, pp. 431–35.

Figure 10. Guidoccio Cozzarelli, *The Stigmata of Catherine of Siena*, from the Tavoletta di Biccherna. Siena, Archivio di Stato, Palazzo Piccolomini. Date: 1499. Scala / Art Resource, NY.

scholars to identify the figure of the pontiff as the reigning pope,[69] because Alexander VI was convinced of the authenticity of Catherine's stigmata and allowed them to be represented, even if he did not put an end to the question with an official document. Both of the identifications remain plausible, although the tide is shifting in favor of identifying the figure as Pius II, even if Alexander VI's relaxation of the restriction permitted such an unequivocal attestation of the event.

Another important witness to the comparatively relaxed climate at the end of the century is given in the *Pala delle Stimmate con storie della vita* (1496) by Bernardino Fungai,[70] commissioned by Siena's Compagnia di Santa Caterina in Fontebranda for the altar of their prayer and meeting room. The first artistic ornament of the so-called Oratorio della Cucina[71] took as its subject Catherine's stigmata. Their portrayal was controversial, due to the choice of the diagonal path of the rays' trajectory, now visible only by a line that travels from the right side of Christ to the right palm of the saint.[72] Heaven and earth are called to witness the authenticity of the miracle. The back wall of the chapel, reduced to a low balustrade, opens onto a wide and boundless landscape, enclosed on the left by the votive chapel of a polygonal design before which a poor person passes, limping painfully.[73] Among the historical witnesses, including the two *mantellate* beyond the parapet, the artist adds a woman and a child. A heavenly vision occupies the upper part of the painting: the Holy Spirit alights on the Virgin and Child, accompanied by angels and saints; the celestial procession ends with the stigmatized saint and with the one whom Christ designated as teacher and mother, Mary Magdalene.[74]

The complete composition must have inspired Domenico Beccafumi for the *Pala delle Stimmate con scene della vita* (Fig. 11),[75] destined for

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[69] C. Alessi, cat. 128, in *Catherine de Sienne* [exhibition catalog], p. 279.

[70] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 196, p. 431. See also Kaftal, *Saint Catherine in Tuscan Painting*, fig. XXII, p. 82.

[71] Piero Torriti, *La casa di Santa Caterina e la basilica di San Domenico* (Genoa, 1982), pp. 16–25.

[72] A closer examination of the painting should be able to clarify the direction of the ray, which terminates in Catherine's side.

[73] This may be an allusion to the many poor and sick people whom Catherine assisted; see Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine*, pars II, c. 3–4, pp. 126–57. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, II.2–4.131–164.886A–894D.

[74] Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine*, pars 1, c. 4, paragraph 45, pp. 43–44; pars 1, c. 6, paragraph 64, pp. 58–60; pars 2, c. 6, paragraph 183–184, pp. 177–78; and pars 2, c. 6, paragraph 199, p. 189. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, I.2.44–45.864E/F; I.3.63–64.868E/F; II.6.182–184.899C/E; II.7.199–200.902E–F.

[75] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 199, p. 432.

Figure 11. Domenico Beccafumi (known as Il Mecarino), *St Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata between Saints Jerome and Benedict*. Siena: Pinacoteca Nazionale. Date: 1513–15. Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

the monastery of Monte Oliveto[76] near Siena outside Porta Tufi, and also for the insertion of the statues of Saints Benedict and Jerome (as opposed to the images of Saints Jerome and Dominic which flank the exterior of the Fontebranda altarpiece). Benedict's gesture, to which Catherine points, and Jerome's attitude of meditative suspension give Beccafumi's painting a didactic-symbolic connotation: the historical event is neither imitable nor repeatable without an extraordinary intervention from God, but it becomes the possible object of reflection and a stimulus for those who are involved in various ways in a walk of perfection. The hagiographic narrative gives way to the exemplification of a model.

Another Typology Concerning the Rays

Caffarini proposed a thesis which was taken up by others afterward: the stigmata could not be ascribed to Francis alone, and the phenomenon could be manifested in different ways. This demands that one speak and write about these stigmata, that their representation not be prohibited, and that the various manners of devotion to them not be hindered. To do otherwise would be equivalent to negating the goodness of God in which his elect have taken part.[77] The idea that the prerogative of the phenomenon of the stigmata was diverse and not a miracle exclusive to Francis of Assisi is depicted in a wood engraving from the end of the 15th century (Fig. 12).[78] Here, the mystical phenomenon of the stigmata is fulfilled on Calvary, suggesting Catherine's conformity with Christ. In this image, Catherine's stigmata is coupled with that of the Dominican woman, the blessed Margaret of

[76] Many members of the Ordine di Monte Oliveto Maggiore had ties with Catherine of Siena, as was evidenced by the letters that she sent them. See Catherine of Siena, *Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione, e in ordine nuovo disposte con note di Niccolò Tommaseo*, ed. Piero Misciattelli, 6 vols (Florence, 1939–47), VIII, 1:28–31; XXXII–XXXVII, 1:120–47; LXXVI, 2:18–28; LXXXIV, 2:52–60; CLXXII, 3:74–76; CCIII, 3:191–97; CCLXXXVII, 4:211–18.

[77] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, pp. 152, 154, 155.

[78] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 225, p. 442. A similar example can be found in the wooden panel painting of the account book from 1545 attributed to Giovanni di Lorenzo. See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 226, p. 442. See also A. Bagnoli, *Giovanni di Lorenzo* (Siena 1494—last noted in 1551), in *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, [exhibition catalog] (Milan, 1990), p. 333.

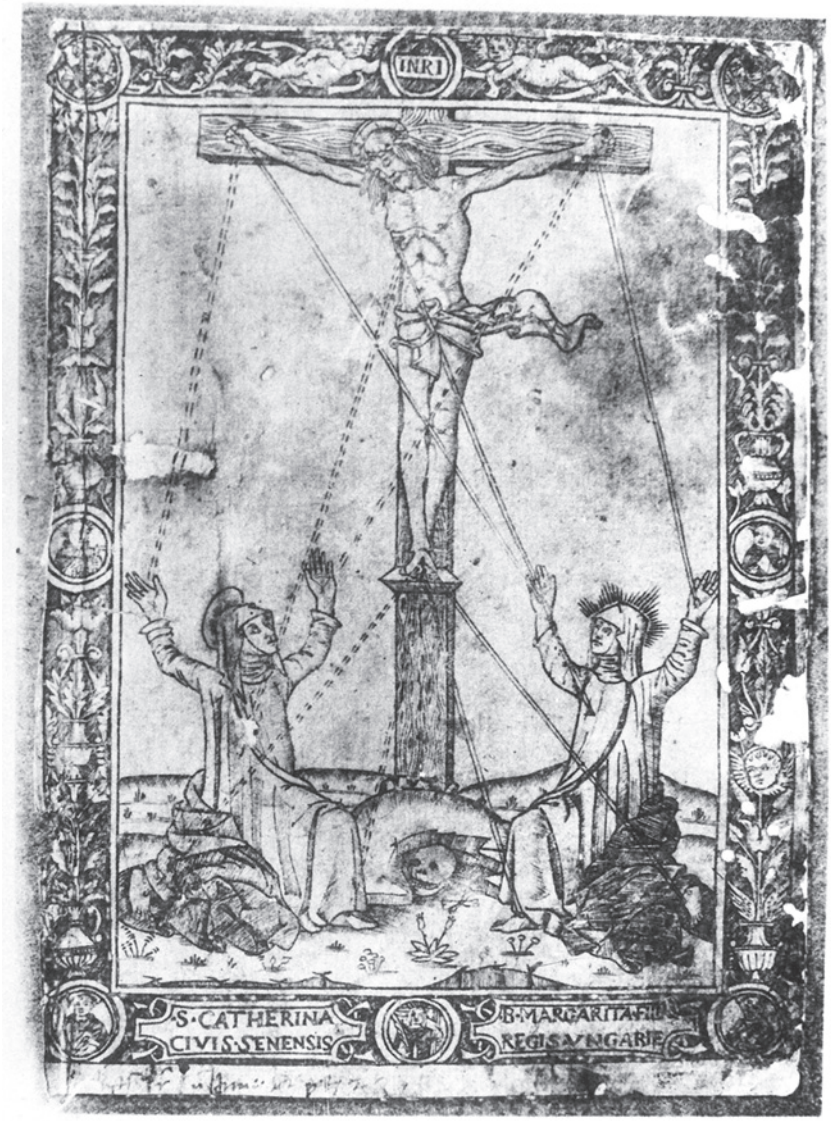

Figure 12. *The Crucifixion with St Catherine of Siena and the Blessed Margaret of Hungary*. Milan, Musei del Castello Sforzesco. Date: c. 1500. By kind permission of Abaris Books. This image may not be re-used elsewhere, in any medium, for any other purpose, without further express permission from Abaris Books.

Hungary (1242–70).[79] The layout of the rays differs: unbroken lines for Margaret's stigmata indicate that they were bloody; the broken rays of Catherine's stigmata indicate that they were bloodless. However, the path of rays is crossed for both women.

Conclusion

The two-century-long question of the stigmata of Catherine of Siena does not seem to have generated confusion in the creation of iconographic patterns: from the very beginning, clear typologies were formed on the basis of the hagiographic narrative resulting from Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* and Caffarini's influence on how that account should be rendered iconographically. The reconstructed typologies derive from the textual expression of this mystical phenomenon, from which patron and artist alike drew. The examples of the stigmatization of Catherine with diagonal rays must be considered as underscoring the problem at the bottom of the age-old dispute: they reaffirmed, against the rigid and exclusivist Franciscan position, the authenticity of the stigmata of Catherine of Siena and the significance of their full conformity to Christ.

[79] See Giunta, "La questione," fig. 225, p. 442. For the hagiographical-figurative tradition and the historical reliability of the stigmata of St Margaret of Hungary, see Bianchi and Giunta, *Iconografia*, cat. 94, pp. 219–21; Diego Giunta, "A margine di una ricerca iconografica: la 'Domenicana' del finestrone absidale di S. Domenico in Perugia," in *Colloqui del Sodalizio tra studiosi dell'arte*, 9–10–11, second series (1991), 33–46. [Editors' note: For further information regarding St Margaret of Hungary, see Gábor Klaniczay, "On the Stigmatization of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin, Princeton Readings in Religions (Princeton, 2009), pp. 265–73.]

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE WRITINGS OF CATHERINE OF SIENA: THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Suzanne Noffke

The extant works of Catherine of Siena—the *Dialogo*, a collection of 26 prayers (the *Orazioni*) and nearly 400 letters (the *Epistole*)—have survived because of the wish she expressed to her confessor Raymond of Capua and to her disciples, as she was nearing death, that they do with her works whatever they thought would most honor God.[1] The works also survive through the consequent diligence of her scribes. The *Dialogo* exists in a manuscript of one of its original transcribers. The manuscript tradition for the bulk of Catherine's correspondence

[1] Catherine of Siena, *Le Lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Antonio Volpato, in Catherine of Siena, *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Fausto Sbaffoni (Pistoia, 2002), Letter T373: "Anco vi prego che el Libro e ogni scrittura la quale trovaste di me, voi e frate Bartolomeo e frate Tommaso e il Maestro ve le rechiate per le mani; e fatene quello che vedete che sia più onore di Dio, con missere Tommaso insieme, nel quale io truovo alcuna recreazione." In English: "I also ask you and Frate Bartolomeo [Bartolomeo Dominici] and Frate Tommaso [Tommaso dalla Fonte] and the master [Giovanni Tantucci (Terzo)] to take care of the book and any other writing of mine you may find. You, together with Messere Tommaso, do with them whatever you see would be most to God's honor. I've found some recreation in them" (Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. and trans. Suzanne Noffke, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 4 vols [Tempe, 2000–08], Letter T373/G102, 4:364–70, at p. 369). Throughout this chapter, citations of Catherine's works in the original language are from the critical text published on compact disk as *Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Fausto Sbaffoni (Pistoia, 2002), with the text of the *Dialogo* and the *Orazioni* by Giuliana Cavallini and the *Epistole* by Antonio Volpato. In the designation of the letters, I have used the most commonly used numeration, that of Niccolò Tommaseo, with the prefix "T." The letters have, through history, been numbered in three different sequences: first by Gigli with the prefix "G" [*Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Girolamo Gigli, 4 vols (Siena, Lucca, 1707–21)]; then by Tommaseo [*Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, ridotte a miglior lezione*, ed. Niccolò Tommaseo, 4 vols (Florence, 1860)]; and in the 1940s by Eugenio Dupré Theseider, with the prefix "DT" [*Epistolario di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Eugenio Dupré Theseider, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, pubblicate dal R. Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo 82. Epistolari, secolo XIV (Rome, 1940)]. Only the first 88 letters have a Dupré Theseider sequence, since Dupré Theseider completed only one volume of his critical edition before his death.

begins in collections made by her scribes from their original transcriptions, with later copyists reproducing these in increasingly larger collections; only eight originals as actually sent to their addressees have survived. The prayers traveled a more complex path to the earliest dependable manuscripts.

Le Epistole

Whether Catherine ever learned to write has been long disputed, though if we take the sources at their word, she did, while she was at Rocca d'Orcia in October of 1377.[2] Still, if she ever wrote any of her letters in her own hand (a few rubrics attest that she did), none of these has come down to us; nor has any other example of her handwriting. Instead, she used various individuals as her scribes, according to the testimony of one of them, dictating sometimes even two or three different letters simultaneously to as many scribes.[3]

In the earliest years of her correspondence, she seems to have relied most heavily on a few of her female companions for the task but, later, relied increasingly on the men. Occasionally, her confessor Raymond of Capua served her in this way, as did occasionally the notary Cristofano di Gano Guidini, Gherardo Buonconti of Pisa, and Francesco Malavolti. But her most constant and continuous scribes were Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi, a Sienese nobleman and poet (perhaps from as early as 1372 or 1373, when he became her disciple); Stefano Maconi,

[2] Robert Fawtier and Louis Canet, in *La double expérience de Catherine Benincasa* (Paris, 1948), p. 42, and Fawtier, in *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 2, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne* (Paris, 1930), pp. 1–14, insist that references in the sources to her knowing how to write were a fabrication on the part of Tommaso di Antonio da Siena (Caffarini), whom Fawtier saw as a prevaricator of the first water. Dupré Theseider, in his last essay on Catherine, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 22 (Rome, 1979), p. 376, does not exclude the possibility that she *may* have known how to write, though in the first volume of his edition of the *Epistolario di Santa Caterina da Siena* he had agreed with Fawtier on this specific question. See also F. Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), pp. 192–95. See especially Jane Tylus's chapter in the present collection which addresses the question of Catherine's literacy.

[3] For Francesco Malavolti's description of Catherine of Siena dictating her works, see *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Caterina da Siena. Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942), p. 403.

also Sienese (from 1376, when he first met her and joined her and her company on the journey to Florence and Avignon); and Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, a Florentine (who is first mentioned in 1378[4] and was one of Catherine's most constant companions during the last months of her life). The role of these scribes becomes a critical issue in establishing both the authenticity of Catherine's authorship and the chronology of the letters, since it is only through their mediation that Catherine's works have survived at all.

The original transcriptions, the copies actually sent to their addressees, survive for only eight of the letters, and most of these have become mutilated with aging:[5]

In Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.III.3:
- T298, which bears the signature of Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi;
- T320, T329, T332, and T319, in each of which the scribe refers to himself with a derogatory epithet, which led Eugenio Dupré Theseider to think he may have been one and the same unidentified individual;

At the Church of Santa Lucia in Siena:
- T365, probably written by Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, since there is reference in the closing to "your foolish Barduccio";
- T192, written, in Dupré Theseider's opinion, by the same scribe as the group of four above;

In the Church of Saint Aloysius at Oxford:
- F16 (so labeled because it was discovered by Robert Fawtier), written by another unknown scribe.

Both in these originals and in the letters which have survived only through later transcription and editions, minor differences from letter to letter and frequent suppression of Sienese dialectal forms would indicate some influence of the individual scribes' backgrounds on what each transcribed. It would be surprising if this were not true, given the scribes' linguistic, cultural, and professional diversity and the

[4] He is first mentioned by Catherine in Letter T365, written from Florence to Stefano Maconi in late May to mid-June 1378, almost certainly with Barduccio as scribe. Catherine had been in Florence since early that year, and the stylistic evidence of Barduccio's pen first appears at that time. The evidence for this has been described in Antonio Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica delle lettere di S. Caterina da Siena" (unpublished paper, Rome, 1985), and *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke 1:334–35.

[5] For detailed descriptions, see Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 17–28.

speed at which Catherine was accustomed to dictate. Overall consistency in style and in conceptual development, however, make it certain that in substance the wording is Catherine's own—especially since the tenures of the various scribes and the nature of the first manuscript collections precludes any effort on their part to create a unified style, whether by collusion or by an individual scribe. In addition, her scribes' veneration for this woman they called *mamma* would hardly have been compatible with their doing any conscious violence to her thought. Linguistic analysis has in fact established that, other than for very minor details of grammar and orthography, the language of the letters is indeed Catherine's.[6]

But what of alterations at the next levels of transcription, the levels from which the present text for all but those eight originals is derived?

Even by the time of Catherine's death, the originals (that is, the copies sent to their addressees) would have been quite inaccessible for very many of the letters. In these cases, did the collectors (who had been either among her scribes or in her intimate circle) have access to some sort of "file" of the original dictation notes from which the "good copy" of the letters had been made? Dupré Theseider was convinced, in spite of Fawtier's reservations, that such a "file" existed—and it seems only logical that it should have, especially once it became clear that letter-writing was going to be a common vehicle for Catherine and as her correspondents began to include persons of high standing.[7]

There are a number of possible levels at which alterations could have entered into the text of the letters: at the initial dictation, in the making of the "good copy" from the original transcription, in the later copying from an original or dictation copy for a collection, and finally in any later transcription from collection to collection. But at each level of the earliest manuscript tradition, one is dealing with scribes who, as devotees of Catherine, had every reason to be as faithful as possible.

The most significant clue for reconstructing the route by which the text has come down from these first transcriptions and copies lies in the fact that each of the letters is an independent document, so that whoever made the first collections had no inherent criteria to follow for the arrangement of the letters at hand in one sequence or another.

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[6] See *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:xli–xlviii, for the details of this analysis and for other critics' opinions on the matter. Fawtier, though he made invaluable contributions to Catherinian scholarship, was something of an iconoclast.

[7] *Epistolario di Santa Caterina*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xvi–xvii.

(Few of the letters as received bear a date, and in none of the manuscript collections does there seem to be any attempt at chronological order.) On the basis of this fact and the consequent difference of arrangement from collection to collection, Dupré Theseider began and Antonio Volpato has continued the tracing of the manuscript tradition through its phases of development to the present corpus of the letters.[8]

Nothing in the sources would indicate that Catherine herself had any intention of having her letters collected, though she may have been aware of their having been kept by some of her disciples when, in her final letter to Raymond of Capua, she asked him and a few others to do with "the book" (the *Dialogo*) and with "whatever other writings of mine you may find, whatever seems to you to be most to God's honor."[9] But even after her death, her disciples seemed more concerned to translate her book into Latin for dissemination and to prod Raymond into writing her life than they were immediately about her letters, which must have been still widely scattered (except for whatever may have been in those "files" of dictation notes).

The groupings of letters through the history of the various "families" of codices (Pagliaresi, Maconi, Caffarini) suggests that, at a quite an early stage, individual disciples made small collections of letters that had some personal meaning for them, preserving them for their own inspiration. In general, the letters in these personal collections must have been copied intact and arranged quite haphazardly, possibly simply in the order in which an individual was able to copy them.

As copies of the letters began to be gathered for dissemination to a larger public, the letters were recopied, usually without their final more personal and informational parts, parts which would be so valuable today for all they would reveal of Catherine and of her environment. But since inspiration and edification were the purposes of those who were preparing the letters for dissemination, all that was purely personal or informational was probably considered irrelevant (and perhaps indiscreet, in the case of persons still living). Fawtier hypothesizes that this editing was part of a conspiracy concocted by

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[8] Volpato's work in this respect is still for the most part unpublished as he pursues his work on a full critical edition of the *Epistolario*.

[9] Letter T373 (see footnote 1). Frate Tommaso is probably her first confessor, the Dominican Tommaso dalla Fonte, though it could also be the younger friar, Tommaso Caffarini. Missere Tommaso may be Tommaso Buonconti.

Tommaso Caffarini to purge Catherine's writings of anything that might obstruct her canonization, but his arguments are unconvincing, since comparison of the "edited" letters with intact versions, where such still exist, provides no foundation whatsoever for any suspicion that the fragments cut represented material that might have compromised Catherine's reputation for holiness.[10] In fact, as the purely informational bits were cut off, rubrics began to be prefaced to the letters to indicate such facts as the addressee, the reason for the letter, the date, etc., which were being lost in the editing.

It is the same Caffarini, so disparaged by Fawtier, who provides a tantalizing hint of the earliest part of the manuscript history of the letters. Caffarini, though a disciple of Catherine from very early in her public career, seldom surfaces in the accounts of her life. Yet, it was he who took the initiative about three decades after her death to promote her cult and her canonization. It was he who made the first effort to gather *all* of her letters into a single corpus, and who gathered the testimony of many of her disciples and acquaintances still living at that time into the collection called the *Processo Castellano*.[11]

In his *Libellus de Supplemento*, Caffarini states that

> Cristofano di Gano…gathered together almost all of the virgin's letters that had been scattered here and there, so that he made of them two volumes, which I, when I was in Siena in 1398, brought back with me to Venice. I not only had them transcribed, but also put them in a certain order, in two volumes.[12]

A few pages later, he specifies that "the first of these volumes contained 155 letters addressed to clerics and religious of every condition and both sexes," while the second contained "139 addressed to the

[10] See especially Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 320–37.

[11] See *Processo Castellano*, ed. Laurent. The *Processo Castellano* is named for the diocese in which Venice, Caffarini's mission, was located. The testimony was gathered between 1411 and 1416. All of those whose testimony was solicited were men (even though some of Catherine's closest women disciples were still living), since women could not give valid testimony under oath. All of the witnesses were active in the movement for the reform of religious life. For further information on the *Processo Castellano*, see George Ferzoco's chapter in this volume.

[12] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), 3.6.11, pp. 394–95: "Christophorus Ghani…quasi omnes epistolas virginis hinc inde dispersas recollegit in unum, ita ut ex illis confecerit duo volumina que, cum anno Domini 1398 me reperirem in Senis, mecum illas asportavi Venetias. Quas non solum transcribe feci, sed etiam in duobus voluminibus ad certum ordinem ipsas reduxi."

laity, also of every condition and both sexes."[13] The Franciscan Angelo Salvetti of Siena, in his testimony in the *Processo*, also mentions Cristofano in connection with the letters.[14] There is no doubt, therefore, that Cristofano was one of the early collectors and that two volumes of his later became part of Caffarini's collection. Strangely, Cristofano never mentions in his own *Memorie* (written sometime between 1395 and 1398) his having collected Catherine's letters, though he does speak there of the variety of persons to whom she wrote and says that the letters "were made into a book, of which Fra Stefano di Corrado has one volume, and Gabriello di Davino and Neri di Landoccio another."[15] The problem introduced by Cristofano's silence about his having himself actually collected the letters, plus the fact that no extant manuscripts can be traced to him, makes any further speculation about his exact role difficult.

Fawtier hypothesizes from Cristofano's silence about the matter that, rather than having collected any of the letters himself, he had simply made for himself a copy of the two separate volumes in his friends' possession, and that Caffarini later took Cristofano's two-volume copy to Venice without the latter's permission, mistakenly supposing all the while that Cristofano had actually been the collector.[16] Dupré Theseider, in contrast, sees no reason to conclude from Cristofano's silence about his role as collector that he did not in fact make a collection of his own at some time, perhaps after the writing of his *Memorie*. Caffarini, says Dupré Theseider, would hardly have forgotten who had been responsible for a collection in the approximately six short years between his having brought it from Siena and his writing of the

[13] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, 3.6.15, p. 406: "[D]icta epistolarum volumina ad duo precise, sub ordine certo reduxi, quorum primum continet centum quinquaginta quinque epistolas pertinentes ad statum clericalem et religiosum omnis conditionis et sexus; secundum vero centum triginta novem, concernantes statum laycalem, consimiliter omnis conditionis et sexus." See also the *Processo Castellano*, p. 54. Several times in this general section of the *Processo Castellano* he reiterates Cristofano's role as collector of the letters (pp. 73, 89).

[14] *Processo Castellano*, p. 440.

[15] *Memorie di ser Cristofano*, in *Fioretti di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Innocenzo Taurisano (Rome, 1922), pp. 111–34, at p. 120: "Le quali lettere sono state ragunate insieme, cioè una grande parte: e sono ridotte in un libro, de' quali n'ha uno il detto frate Stefano di Corrado, e uno altro Gabriello di Davino, e Neri di Landoccio." Stefano di Corrado is better known as Stefano Maconi.

[16] Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 85–90 and p. 96, n. 1. In his disdain for Caffarini, Fawtier imputes to him the dishonesty of taking the volumes without permission.

incident. Furthermore, Caffarini speaks of Cristofano's having written to him about the letters he had collected, though unfortunately he does not report the date (or dates) of that correspondence.[17] Beyond the presentation of this somewhat confusing evidence, Dupré Theseider is content to leave the precise collecting role of Cristofano di Gano Guidini in the shadows, in the end unwilling even to relate it definitively with any specific theoretical archetype of existing manuscripts.

That Caffarini was responsible for the first attempt at a complete and ordered collection of the letters is clear not only from his own testimony but from what remains of the collection he made.[18] This collection, actually a pair of manuscripts, stands at the head of a small family of manuscripts. It is equally clear that Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi and Stefano Maconi were fathers to two other significant families of manuscripts (those related to *Mo* and *B* respectively).[19] Beyond these three traditions, there is the very important collection made by Barduccio di Piero Canigiani (*C*). The pedigree of several other manuscripts is still, as of this writing, uncertain.

Beyond the 294 letters included in Caffarini's volumes, various manuscripts yielded another 74 to the research of Aldus Manutius, who in 1500 produced a large printed edition in Venice. Girolamo Gigli, in the early 18th century, managed to discover 21 more letters in a number of Sienese manuscripts and published them in his *Opere di s. Caterina da Siena* in 1721.[20] Thus the number of letters collected

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[17] *Processo Castellano*, p. 73.

[18] Cf. Dupré Theseider, "Il problema critico delle Lettere di santa Caterina da Siena," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano* 49 (1933), 117–278, at 191–228. The manuscript Caffarini refers to as his own work is *S2/3*. This manuscript and other manuscripts which contain the works of Catherine of Siena are listed below, with the siglum which identifies each.

[19] A listing of the major manuscripts with their sigla and library information can be found at the end of this chapter.

[20] *L'epistole della serafica vergine S. Caterina da Siena scritte da lei a pontefici, cardinali, prelati, ed altre persone ecclesiatiche, tratte fedelmente da' suoi migliori esemplari, e purgate dagli errori dell'altre impressioni. Colle annotazioni del padre Federigo Burlamacchi*, in *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Gigli, vols 2, 3 (Lucca, 1721). The manuscripts Gigli used were *S2*, *S3*, and *S5* (though not *S6*, which was perhaps not shared with him by the Cittadini family), and also *Ro*, a copy (possibly) of *B*, and the few originals preserved in Siena. Gigli states in the title of his second volume that he had discovered 23 new letters, but this is erroneous. The letters discovered by him are: T103, T367 (from the original), T131, T301, T107, T157, T43 (perhaps from the *Memorie* of Guidini, though it is also found in *Ro*), T176, T145, T133, T143, T138, T68, T113, T111, T115, T161, T162, T165, T97, T144. He drew all of them probably (except T367 and T43) from *S3*.

rose to 373, a number which would remain stable for another two centuries.

Edmund Gardner, in 1907, published in an appendix to his *Saint Catherine of Siena* eight letters he had uncovered in the course of his research, letters which have since been designated by the name Gardner with Roman numeral as follows: I. To Bartolomeo di Smeduccio (from *H, P2, P3, P5*); II. Untitled (from *R2*); III. Untitled (from *R2*); IV. To the *priori* of Florence (from *F3*); V. To Francesco di Pipino (integral text of T289, from *F4*); VI. To Bartolo Usimbardi (integral text of T89, from *F4*); VII. To Piero Canigiani (from *C*); and VIII. To the prioress of Sant'Agnesa (from *C*).

Bacchisio Motzo, in his use of the Casanatense manuscript 292 (*C*) in 1911, discovered there additional fragments of Letters T322, T356, T328, T336, T321, T334, and T344.[21]

In 1914, Robert Fawtier published new versions of fourteen letters (T179, T251, T248, T91, T176, T93, T300, T290, T249, T274, T265, T190, T262 (from *F4*), and T151 (from *R2*); two new letters, Fawtier 15 (from *L*, Firenze, Biblioteca Landau-Finaly 1415) and Fawtier 16 (from the original, at Oxford); and T319 from the original preserved in Siena—the latter two as described above.[22]

The present scope of the collected letters of Catherine of Siena, 385, was reached in 1931 when Eugenio Dupré Theseider published two new letters from *Mo*: one to Monna Tora and Monna Giovanna Trenta (DT I), and one to Gianetta, Antonia, Caterina, and a woman from Vercelli (DT II).[23]

Dupré Theseider remained convinced that the discovery of other scattered transcriptions of Catherine's letters would continue as the manuscript resources of various public and private collections were organized and published. In his introduction to the first volume of his edition, he already mentions two of whose existence he knew but which he had not managed to see: a 14th-century manuscript of Letter Gardner I, said by Giuseppe Zonta[24] to be in the manuscript Venezia,

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[21] Bacchisio Motzo, "Alcune lettere di S. Caterina da Siena in parte inedite," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 18 (1911), 369–95.

[22] Robert Fawtier, "Catheriniana," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 34.1 (1914), 3–95.

[23] Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Un codice inedito dell'epistolario di S. Caterina da Siena," *Bullettino dell'Instituto Storico Italiano e Archivio muratoriano* 48 (1932), 17–36.

[24] Giuseppe Zonta, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 3 vols (Turin, 1928–32), 2:21.

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ital. 3486, but which the officials of that library had not managed to find; and "letters of Saint Catherine of Siena" said by Mazzatinti to be in the archives of the Baldeschi family in Perugia, but to which neither Fawtier nor Dupré Theseider had been allowed access by the proprietors.[25]

The Manuscripts of the Epistole[26]

The Pagliaresi Group of Manuscripts

Mo [Mo-a, Mo-b, Mo-c]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Palatino 3514

This late 14th-century codex, without rubrics but with ornate initials, was first analyzed by Dupré Theseider.[27] It includes 221 letters; two are repeated, so the actual total is 219. The last three are accompanied by texts of another nature.[28]

In the transcription of the codex, three different hands alternate (*Mo-a, Mo-b, Mo-c*). Scribe *a* is certainly Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi himself, to whom the manuscript belonged. (He later willed it to the monks of Monteoliveto Maggiore before he died in 1406.) There may be some doubt as to whether *a* and *c* are actually two different scribes, since the two hands are similar in many respects, though *c* is written more closely and finely than *a*. Scribe *b*, whose identity is unknown, was apparently a well-educated person; in many places he corrects the text written by *a*, adapting it to his own orthographic, grammatical and syntactic habits—but his corrections are never an improvement so far as access to the original text is concerned.[29]

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[25] *Gli archivi della storia d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, 4 vols (Rocca S. Casciano, 1897–1907 [1909]), 1:133.

[26] More detailed descriptions of specific manuscripts can be found in *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:317–44; some updated information is also presented below.

[27] A full description and analysis appeared in his "Un codice inedito" in 1938. In the present description, I have utilized information from that source as well as from his *Epistolario*, pp. xxiii–xxvi, ed. Dupré Theseider.

[28] They are: three prayers of the saint (*Orazioni*, 1, 2, and 3), which follow Letters T350, T357, T373, and T371, the last previously erroneously considered a separate letter; the "Spiritual Document" [in English as appendix to Augusta Theodosia Drane, *The History of St Catherine of Siena and Her Companions: with a Translation of Her Treatise on Consummate Perfection*, 4th ed., 2 vols (London, 1915)]; the *Transito* (in English in Johannes Jorgensen, *Saint Catherine of Siena* (London, 1939), pp. 390–94); four prayers (*Orazioni*, 5, 6; then 1 and 2 repeated).

[29] I am indebted to Professor Antonio Volpato for this sharpened evaluation of *Mo*.

Mo is of great critical interest, since in this codex Pagliaresi very probably fused several smaller collections which had perhaps been assembled directly from the originals in Siena and Florence for devotional purposes while Catherine was still living. The first part of the collection, 109 letters, certainly had an independent existence, as is proved by the incontestable fact that these letters (written entirely by the hand of *a*) are almost completely without corrections from the hand of *b* (ordinarily numerous). In fact, certain orthographic peculiarities and stylistic features (which in the rest of the codex stand as corrections in the hand of *b* over erasures) consistently appear in these first 109 letters in the forms accepted by *b*, but in the hand of *b*, with no erasures. It is therefore legitimate to conclude that this group of 109 letters (designated by Dupré Theseider as *Mo'*) had constituted a separate collection which was revised and corrected (probably by *b*) *before* it was transcribed by *a* (Neri) into *Mo*. This collection comprises the first 156 leaves of the manuscript, more than half of the codex (another 18 letters on an additional 20 folios follow, all in the hand of *b*).

The uniformity of the writing and of the ink used in those first 156 leaves is striking; it is obvious that Neri transcribed that part of the collection in a period of continuous and tranquil work. On this last point, we know that after a series of moves (to Naples on 22 May 1380; to Siena on 30 January 138l; to the home of the tailor Francesco Pipino in Florence on 18 February of the same year),[30] Neri settled from at least as early as 30 May 1381 in the hermitage of San Luca at Agromaggio near Florence—a stay arranged for him by his friend Leonardo Frescobaldi. He stayed there until May 1389, when Stefano Maconi, having to leave for Milan, asked him to come to Siena. He probably accepted this invitation, since in 1391 Maconi complains of not having heard any news from him in that city for two years—though he does not say whether a longer lapse of time has passed since their last meeting. In any case, Neri finally, on 25 November 1391, settled in the hermitage "outside the Porta Nuova of Siena," where he stayed until his death in 1406.[31] It is not impossible that the transcription of *Mo* was begun

[30] These moves are documented in the extant letters of Catherine's disciples. See Raymond of Capua, Stefano Maconi, Caffarini, *Leggenda minore di s. Caterina da Siena e lettere dei suoi discepoli*, ed. Francesco Grottanelli (Bologna, 1868), Letters XVII (pp. 290–91), XVIII (pp. 292–93), and XIX (pp. 293–94).

[31] *Leggenda minore di s. Caterina da Siena e lettere dei suoi discepoli*, ed. Grottanelli, Letters XXI, 30 May 1381 (pp. 298–301); XXXII, 2 May 1389 (pp. 314); XXXIV, 25 November 1391 (pp. 319–23), XLVI, 1406 (pp. 343–45).

during the nine years of Neri's seclusion at Agromaggio; in any case, the final date of the codex has to be before Neri's death.

Neri was one of Catherine's secretaries and intimate friends, and it is certain that *Mo* was in great part written by him personally, while the rest was copied with his consensus—all of which gives *Mo* an exceptional value. Dupré Theseider took *Mo* as the basic manuscript for his critical edition for those letters which it contains, as did this author for her translation.

M: Modena, Archivio capitolare, Confraternita della Santissima Annunziata, SA 1[32]

Dating to the end of the 14th or in the early 15th century, this codex is written in a handsome minuscule book-hand with colored rubrics and initials, including a lovely initial with a miniature on fol. 1, depicting Catherine dictating in ecstasy.

The codex reproduces exactly the sequence of the first 96 letters of *Mo'*, followed by the text of T371 (which in *Mo* is found at the close of the series of letters), thus excluding the possibility that *M* derives from a mutilated copy of *Mo'* (which would have to have been interrupted at the 96th letter and did not, furthermore, include T371). In Dupré Theseider's opinion, it is probable that it derives, through some intermediary, from a complete copy close to *Mo*. The text of the letters in *M*, except for a few insignificant variants, is identical with that of *Mo*; that is, reproducing the text in the form already corrected, not in the form of the originals. Therefore, *M* does not have any greater interest for a critical edition or for translation than does *Mo* and, moreover, lacks the authority the latter derives from the paternity of Pagliaresi.

S5: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.14[33]

This codex is written in a handsome and regular hand of the (perhaps early) 15th century, with red initials and rubrics. Its content is identical with that of *M*, but besides *M*'s 96 letters[34] it reproduces the

[32] Described by Bartolomeo Veratti, "Intorno ad un codice antico di epistole di santa Caterina da Siena," in *Opuscoli religiosi, letterari e morali*, ser. 2, 14 vols (Modena, 1863–69), 8:185–204. Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 42; *Epistolario*, pp. xxvi–xxvii, ed. Dupré Theseider. See also *Inventario dei manoscritti dell'Archivio Capitolare di Modena*, ed. Matteo Al Kalak, 2 vols (Modena, 2005), 2:22–25.

[33] Description based on *Epistolario*, p. xxvii, ed. Dupré Theseider; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 51–52.

[34] According to Fawtier, "Catheriniana," p. 95.

non-letter texts included in *Mo*. (Letters T350 and T357, however, are missing in *S5*.) The text reproduces that of *M*, except that it is not very accurate. In a note following the second prayer there is a first-person reference to Tommaso Buonconti, which may or may not indicate that he was the writer of the manuscript.

S6: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.12
This codex, written in a script clearly humanistic, dates perhaps to the second half of the 15th century.[35] The initial on fol. 1 holds a miniature of Catherine in ecstasy. *S6* is a descendant of *M*, but incomplete, ending at Letter T268. The latter is the 52nd letter in *M*, but the 53rd in *S6*, since *S6* has inserted Letter T43a (the version from the *Memorie* of Cristofano di Gano Guidini) between its 11th and 12th letters. After Letter T268 (which is incomplete, the mutilation therefore having occurred earlier than this transcription) the Sienese scholar Celso Cittadini (1553–1627), who randomly annotated the codex with precious bits of information from archival sources, copied out Letter T367 preceded by the following: "Copied from a letter in Saint Catherine's own hand and given by me to Signore Hippolito Agustini, Knight Commander of Siena, and preserved today in Santa Lucia in Siena." At the end of this transcription he added:

> Copy of a letter of Saint Catherine to Fra Matteo Tolomei and Fra Jacomo of the Friars Preachers; the letter is preserved at Lecceto in the sacristy, among the relics, and was copied by Fra Ambrogio of Siena, Olivetan, in 1520.[36]

Perhaps Cittadini intended to append a transcription of another of the saint's original letters. But although the original of T367 no longer exists, a copy does. For the letter "preserved at Lecceto in the sacristy," in contrast, not only has the original been lost but also there is no copy of a letter to the friars Matteo Tolomei and Jacomo in any of the manuscripts (though T94 is addressed to Matteo alone).

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[35] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. xxvii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 52.

[36] "Copiata da una lettera di man propria di santa Caterina donate da me al s' Hippolito Agustini, balì di Siena per me Celsa Cittadini. Hoggi si conserva in Santa Lucia di Siena" (fol. 106); "Copia di una lettera di santa Caterina a fra Matteo Tolomei e a fra Jacomo de' frati predicatori, che si conserva a Lecceto in sagrestia fra le reliquie, copiata da fra Ambrogio olivetano da Siena 1520" (fol. 107b).

As for the text, *S6* reproduces *Mo* faithfully, with the additions of *Mo-b* but without the changes introduced by *M*.

Ro: Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S. Pantaleo, 9

Ro is a 15th-century codex with colored initials.[37] After an *incipit* on fol. 190 follow 57 letters, the first 56 as in *Mo*, and then Letter T43 as in *S6*. The transcription of T173 is interrupted (fol. 300), but the reverse of the leaf is blank; the mutilation, therefore, occurred before the transcription was finished. Although space is left throughout for rubrics, they have not been filled in after fol. 246v.

F4: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXVIII, 130

F4 and *F3* (below), both of great critical interest, are linked by Dupré Theseider with the Pagliaresi group of manuscripts, for even though they are substantially independent of the manuscripts so far discussed, each is connected in its own way with Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi.[38]

F4 was written in several Tuscan hands at the end of the 14th or from the beginning of the 15th century. The first of these hands is certainly that of Neri himself, who wrote the most interesting part of this small codex, the first 55 leaves, containing various devotional texts and, from fol. 35 to fol. 55a, 22 letters, almost all supplied with rubrics in red. Of particular interest is the fact that in this codex the hand of Neri (*Mo-a*) again alternates with that of the scribe of *Mo-b*, the latter providing the rubrics for fols 20–32, all of fols 32–34, and again the rubric on fol. 52b.

Dupré Theseider observes that the fascicle containing the 22 letters at one time existed independently, as is clearly demonstrated not only by the fact that it carries its own original pagination but also by the distinct watermark of its paper. He further observes that the calligraphy changes quite distinctively from one group of transcriptions to another, even while keeping its basic characteristics. Specifically, in the letters it is identical with that of *Mo*, while in the devotional texts which presently form the first part of the codex it is quite different—almost clumsy, rigid, with the angularity which always characterizes Neri's handwriting markedly pronounced. Dupré Theseider concludes

[37] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xxviii–xxix; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 47–48.

[38] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xxix–xxxi; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 35–41.

from this that the fascicle of letters is older than the other pages written by Neri. He also states that it can be dated with great probability to 1381, since it contains all of Catherine's letters to the tailor Francesco di Pipino (as well as those to his wife Agnesa and to her other Florentine friends); for Neri was at Francesco's home during February 1381, and the letters in this fascicle were certainly transcribed from their originals without abridgement. When Neri returned after this to solitude, this time at Agromaggio, he began the transcription of *Mo*, a codex intended for dissemination, and in this codex he transcribed the same letters a second time, but without their personal passages.[39] Thus *F4*, at least so far as the fascicle of letters is concerned, must be assigned a relatively early date, even to being the oldest of the manuscripts of the letters of whose dating we can be at all sure. Its critical importance is therefore even greater than that of *Mo* itself for the letters it contains.

F3: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV, 199
F3 is written in three hands, certainly Tuscan, of the late 14th or early 15th century.[40] The first hand resembles very much the writing in some of the originals of the letters and could therefore, according to Dupré Theseider, be taken to be Sienese; almost the entire codex is written in this hand. The second hand is responsible for only one letter, and its peculiarities significantly resemble those of the handwriting of Caffarini, to whom, in fact, the letter is addressed. The third hand transcribes first a letter of Giovanni dalle Celle to Barduccio di Piero Canigiani "about the death of the blessed Catherine of Siena," and

[39] The difference in character formation between the two parts of Neri's portion of *F4* is striking. On 25 November 1381, Stefano Maconi wrote to Neri: "You wrote me that you have been completely deranged…" The original Italian reads: "mi scrivi che se' stato tutto alienato." See *Leggenda minore di s. Caterina da Siena e lettere dei suoi discepoli*, ed. Grottanelli, Letter XXXIV, 25 November 1391, pp. 318–23, at p. 318. And certainly the harshness of his asceticism, first at Agromaggio and later in Siena, would age him prematurely. In fact, the penmanship in the *Leggenda di santa Eufrosine* and the *laude* seem to Dupré Theseider to be that of an old man, or at least a feeble one, while that of the letters seem that of a younger or at least more agile person. If such indications do correspond to the reality, it would confirm at the same time that the codex *Mo* (in the part written by Neri) also belongs to the early 1380s.

[40] In his "Problema critico" Dupré Theseider says that *F3* now contains only 36 leaves, numbered in the modern period, with 1–3, 6–11, 15–16 missing. Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 35, describes it as containing 36 leaves and assigns it to the first half of the 15th century because of its containing 29 lines per page.

then a *lauda*, "Si forte di parlare io son costretto" by Caffarini. On fol. 47b, another hand has copied the end of a prayer which does not seem to be one of Catherine's, followed by Pagliaresi's *lauda* about Catherine, "Su in ciel è ritornata."

The codex has all the characteristics of a devotional manual that might have belonged to one of Catherine's disciples, and that makes it most interesting. Furthermore, it contains 19 of the saint's letters, which (except two, one of which is T325, which might have been written into the codex at another time, taking advantage of an empty page) are also found in *Mo'*, arranged in an order somewhat different yet not so different as to obscure the relationship between the two collections. Neither, however, says Dupré Theseider, is a copy of the other. A comparison of the texts common to *Mo* and *F3* demonstrates that the latter derives, as does *F4*, directly from the originals, at least for the most part.

F3, in fact, retains all of the *lectiones difficiliores*, the obscure forms which are no longer present in *Mo* either because they were eliminated before the transcription or because *b* erased them. The codex is quite rich in colloquial Sienese features; it also conserves two letters (T258, T325) with their complete closings and one (Gardner IV) which is not found in the other collections. At the same time, it lacks the closing of T56, which is not included in any manuscript of the Pagliaresi group, though Caffarini does preserve it in *P4*. All of this led Dupré Theseider to the conviction that *F3* is one of those small selections of letters which Pagliaresi may have made in view of the collection he was preparing, even if he never actually made use of it. This codex also, then, is of fundamental importance for those letters which it contains.

The Maconi Group of Manuscripts

B: Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AD.XIII.34

A 15th-century codex, *B* is written in three different hands, one of them Tuscan.[41] Fols 1a–44a contain the *Legenda abbreviata* by Antonio della Rocca and a sermon in honor of Catherine. These are followed by the text of 205 letters, written by two different scribes; the first is the same who wrote *P2*, that is, almost certainly the Sienese

[41] Dupré Theseider, *Epistolario*, pp. xxxiii–xxxv; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 31–32.

Mariano di Vitali.[42] Fols 282b–289b contain seven letters of Giovanni dalle Celle, the last is incomplete.

The letters are preceded by an *incipit* in Latin which states that they were collected by Stefano Maconi, then prior of the Carthusian monastery of Santa Maria Gratiis near Pavia and that the scribe was writing in 1376. Maconi, however, became prior of Santa Maria only in 1411; so the scribe must have been transcribing an earlier inscription from Letter T238, first transcribed almost certainly by Maconi himself.[43]

The collection consists of two smaller ones (*B1* and *B2*), each with its own hierarchical ordering. The first, containing all the letters to persons of great social dignity, seems to be the collection of the "most principal letters" which Caffarini testifies that he had received from Maconi at a date Dupré Theseider believed could be set around 1398. This was when Maconi left Italy to assume the priorship of the Austrian monastery of Seitz, where he was elected general of the order. The second small collection was formed later, perhaps with material already assembled for the continuation of the first, after 1411, the year in which Maconi became prior of the monastery at Pavia. Later still, through the work of an anonymous compiler, probably in the monastery of Pavia or Milan, *B1* and *B2* were joined in a single (non-extant) collection, an operation in which it seems Maconi himself had no part (for if he had, he would probably not have let the double hierarchical ordering stand). This took place earlier than 1421, the date *P2* was finished.[44]

A comparison between *B* and *Mo* led Dupré Theseider to consider the former even more faithful to the original text of the letters than *Mo-b*, and he therefore attributed great importance to it, making it, along with its "twin," *P2*, his editorial guide in letters not provided by *Mo-a*. Volpato has since, however, contested this judgment and has demonstrated that *B* and *P2*, in fact, artificially introduce Senesisms absent in the original and abound in errors when compared with the text of *H*/*R1* and *T*, which Volpato has shown to be more intact.[45]

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[42] The first group of letters transcribed by Mariano (to fol. 123b), 70 in all, forms a separate fascicle written on paper of a distinct watermark (a five-petaled flower, as in *P2*). Fawtier counts only 198 letters of Catherine in this manuscript.

[43] See Dupré Theseider, "Problema critico," pp. 155–57, for more detail.

[44] The existence of such a collection can be surmised from a study of *B*'s "twin" manuscript, *P2*.

[45] Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica."

P2: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 60

This codex, written entirely in the same very regular hand which produced the greater part of *B*, was, according to its scribe, begun in Milan on 16 February 1421.[46] Of the two codices written by Mariano di Vitale, *B* seems to be the older, and *P2*, apparently written as a "good copy," the derivation. Dupré Theseider notes that *P2* is written with an evident care for regularity, while the pages of *B* are uneven, with lines sometimes crowded, sometimes widely spaced. A comparison of the two manuscripts, however, reveals that, apart from their structural identity (both have the same letters—except for the two that *P2* lacks—arranged in the same order, and both conclude with a group of letters by Giovanni dalle Celle), the text presented by the two cannot be said to be identical. Also, there are line-skips in *B* which do not occur in *P2* (as well as some in *P2* which do not occur in *B*). This is sufficient to exclude a direct derivation of *P2* from *B*, or at least that the scribe of *P2* was consulting only *B*; more probably the archetype of *P2* was the codex *m*.

P2 is further distanced from *B* by a considerable number of variants which at first glance give the impression that the two manuscripts belong to independent and quite different traditions. However, the variants are very probably, in Dupré Theseider's opinion, due to a stylistic revision undertaken by Mariano himself between his first transcription (*B*) and his second (*P2*). This is vividly reminiscent of *b*'s correction of *Mo*, and it is interesting that the two collections underwent the same process. The variants of *P2* are of a somewhat different sort than those introduced by *b* into *Mo*. It should be noted, however, that the text of *B* has not nearly so many unpolished or obscure passages as *Mo-a*, probably because it is more remote from the originals and therefore the effects in it of the inevitable (anonymous) activity of stylistic accommodation are more evident.

For this reason, *P2* has few points of content in evident need of clarification and interpretation. At first reading, the scribe of *P2* has a sense of sentence structure all his own. For example, he is fond of

[46] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xxxv–xxxviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 43. At the conclusion of Catherine's letters, Mariano copies the same letters of Giovanni dalle Celle which are in *B* (fols 213–220b), and then the *lauda* of Iacopone da Todi, "Quando t'alegri huomo d'altura"; several pseudo-Joachimitic prophecies concerning the pontiffs follow, in another 15th-century hand (fols 221b–222a).

switching the order of words (especially nouns and adjectives), and he modifies clause and sentence relationships. Furthermore, one frequently has the impression that he wanted to render Catherine's style more understandable—or even more, acceptable to non-Sienese readers, since he often substitutes words in more general Italian usage for typically Sienese terms.

A: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I.162 inf.
In addition to several other texts, this 15th-century codex contains an exact copy of the *incipit* and the first 27 letters of *B*.[47]

S1: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.III.5 (formerly T.III.6)
Among other texts, the 18th-century codex *S1* contains almost all of the original text of Federico Burlamacchi's commentary on the *Epistole* and two short writings by Gigli.[48] Fols 308a–359b contain the usual Maconian *incipit*, the rubrics, and the first lines of the text of 44 letters, that is, the first 46 letters of B1, in the same order, but missing T348 and T362. The letters transcribed from fol. 342 on are copied from the printed edition of Aldus Manutius, as is specifically noted:[49] T28, T29, T237, T348, T362, T331, T36, T312, T317, T55, T315.

H: London, British Library, Harley 3480
This 15th-century codex, written in a hand probably Tuscan, is very accurate, with the blue initial of the first letter elegantly embellished.[50] It contains 86 letters, all of *B1* and part of *B2*. Volpato has established the importance of this manuscript in its preservation of original forms and original protocols. According to his analysis, *H* was originally a companion volume to *R1*.

P1: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 58
This codex, written in a clearly humanist hand, dates to perhaps the second half of 15th century.[51] The first folio has a small miniature

[47] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. xxxix; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 30.
[48] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. xxxix; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 48. Burlamacchi authored the commentary in Gigli's edition of Catherine's works.
[49] *Epistole devotissime de S. Catharina de Siena (e Orazioni)* was printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1500.
[50] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. xxxix; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 41; Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica."
[51] See Luigi Gentile, *I Codici Palatini descritti dal professore Luigi Gentile*, ed. Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze, 3 vols (Rome, [1885]–1940), 1:65. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré

showing Catherine holding a book in her left hand and a lily in her right. The page is decoratively bordered, with the lower border incorporating the coat of arms of the Albizzi family of Florence. The codex contains 86 letters, the same as in *H*, with the addition of Letter T321.

This is one of several codices which contain a series of 20 letters not found at all in *B*, and in *Mo* found only partially: T3 (*Mo*), T296 (*Mo*), T 77, T64 (*Mo*), T292, T17 (*Mo*), T80 (*Mo*), T41 (*Mo*), T25, T74, T159, T59 (*Mo*), T2, T184, T121 (*Mo*), T140, T148 (*Mo*), T137, T124, and T210 (*Mo*). Dupré Theseider interprets the series as an expansion of a smaller original collection and calls it the "Sienese addition." Volpato's more recent investigations favor the speculation that these "expanded" codices actually represent a tradition closer to the original forms of the letters.[52]

T: Torino, Biblioteca Reale, varia 155
Probably from the first half of 15th century, this codex is a "twin" to *R1* (originally paired with *H* as a two-volume collection).[53] The codex contains 139 letters as well as a few other texts.

R1: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1678
This codex, written in a book hand (a calligraphic half-uncial style) probably of the first half of the 15th century, contains 116 letters. Like *T* it has no *incipit*, but in addition, it lacks an *explicit* because it has been mutilated. It must originally have had the same number of letters as *T*.[54] (The internal order of *R1*, however, is different from that of *T*.) There is a lacuna (between fols 4 and 5), where the end of Letter T243 is missing as well as all of T136 and a good part of T242.[55] The initial of the first letter carries a miniature portrait of Catherine).

Theseider, p. xl; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 42. (Fawtier counts only 126 leaves.)

[52] Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica."

[53] See E. Ferrero, "Di un codice delle lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena," *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 25 (1880), 873–90. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xli–xlvii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 53; Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica."

[54] *R1* has at the end of the rubric for T303: "Ep. 47"—incorrect for *R1* but correct for *T*. Dupré Theseider had concluded in "Problema critico" (p. 166) that *T* and *R1* were therefore derivatives of a common (paginated) codex, which he identified with a lost manuscript *x*.

[55] See *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, ed. Salomone Morpurgo (Rome, 1900), 1:626–27; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xlii–xliii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 45–46; Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica." (Fawtier counts 115 letters.)

P5: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 59
P5, originally in the monastery of Saint Birgitta near Florence and transcribed by Tomaso di Marco da Firenze of that monastery in 1450, contains 170 letters and is, therefore, one of the most complete of the early codices.[56] Though the order of the letters is somewhat changed, the manuscript is evidently related to *T* and *R1*. Its value, however, is somewhat lessened by frequent errors.

F2: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV, 187
This 15th-century codex reproduces *P5* exactly throughout, and must be derived from it, unless the two are from a common source.[57] The script appears hurried, and the scribe was perhaps not a professional.

F1: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.VIII.5 (Magliabechiano XXXIX, 90)
The codex was completed in 1474 at the women's monastery of San Niccolò Maggiore in Cafaggio.[58] It contains 101 letters, all of them to women and very peculiarly ordered, but is of no particular critical interest other than perhaps the relation of its content to its origin in a women's monastery.[59]

P3: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 57
P3 is a rich codex, containing 203 of the 205 letters of *B* (T38 and T276 are missing), as well as the 20 additional letters of *R1* and *T*. It reorders all of this material, but does keep, though less rigorously, a double ordering of letters to men and letters to women. It shares many of the faults of *B* and *P2* in relation to the original text.[60] The codex derives certainly from a mutilated collection; in fact, its final letter (T307) is incomplete, and with the end of it, T276 must also have disappeared, since the latter was probably the last in this codex as it is in *B*. The

[56] See *I Codici Palatini descritti dal professore Luigi Gentile*, ed. Morpurgo, pp. 64–65. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xliii–xliv; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 45.
[57] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xliv–xlv; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 34–35.
[58] *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, 19 vols (Forli, 1890–1911), 11:221–22. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. xlv; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 33–34.
[59] See Dupré Theseider, "Problema critico," p. 168, for the strange method followed by the scribe.
[60] See *I Codici Palatini descritti dal professore Luigi Gentile*, ed. Morpurgo, pp. 64–65. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xlv–xlvi; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 43.

script of the codex, indubitably Tuscan (perhaps Sienese), is possibly from the first half of the 15th century.

R2: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1303
No earlier than the mid-15th century, the content of *R2* is varied,[61] but includes two groupings of letters: the first, of 17 letters, has rubrics and colored initials; the second, 15 letters, has no rubrics but does have colored initials. The text adheres strictly to the readings proper to *R1* as well as to other unknown sources. It contains, however, two letters not represented elsewhere (Gardner II and III); for Letter T151, it offers a closing not found in any other manuscript. For these reasons the codex is particularly valuable.

Nd: Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library 18
This 15th-century codex is all but identical to *R2* in content and arrangement.[62] *Nd* is the only manuscript to identify the addressee of Gardner II and III as "Samuelle da Rimine, dottore di leggie."

V: Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci 6140
From perhaps about mid-15th century, this codex contains 27 letters.[63] Contrary to a statement in the *incipit*, none of these letters was written from Rome. Dupré Theseider saw the text as "notably incorrect" because of the relationship in which he saw it with manuscripts of the Maconian tradition. Volpato, however, has recognized it as preserving aspects of the original text even with its many errors; in spite of its brevity (it is mutilated), he conjectures that it occupies an independent and fairly early niche in the history of transmission.

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[61] See *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca riccardiana di Firenze*, ed. Morpurgo, 1:371–72. It contains: Passavanti's *Specchio della vera penitentia* (fols 1–27a); the first group of letters (fols 27b–43b); *lauda* "contro alle tentationi," a *lauda* of Feo Belcari, "Venga ciascun divoto e nobil core," a rule for confession called "regoletta della confessione" (fols 44a–51a); fols 51b–52b blank; the second group of letters. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. xlvi–xlvii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 46.

[62] The manuscript was first described in James A. Corbett, *Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1978). But Corbett is mistaken in his description in saying that in *Nd* letter # 25 is T80 rather than T25; it is in fact, as in *R2*, T25 (see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:332–33 for details).

[63] Cf. *Inventari*, ed. Mazzatinti, 2:182–83, n.23; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. xlvii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 53–54; Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica," especially pp. 14–15.

C: Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 292 (The Canigiani Manuscript)
This significant codex was first discovered by Edmund Gardner, and in 1911 was analyzed by Bacchisio Motzo in relation to the Catherinian letters it contains.[64] Although there has been debate as to whether all of the *Dialogo* (which occupies the first part of the codex up to fol. 195) is in a single hand or more,[65] Volpato later established quite clearly that the pages containing 46 letters of Catherine are the work of Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, one of Catherine's own secretaries, thus putting it in a group by itself. *C* has little in common with the manuscripts described up to this point. Dupré Theseider saw a possible link with *B* in that *C* has 19 letters which appear also in *B1*, and another 23 which figure in *B2*. (The remaining four are letters which are found only here and there: T258 in *Mo* and *F3*, T356 in *S3*, and the second and 39th letters of *C* in no other manuscript.) Still, only five of the 42 letters common to *C* and *B* are found in *Mo*, evidence which led him to posit an archetype *s'*. Volpato's conclusions seem rather to point to an independent tradition in *C*.

Because of its preservation of original protocols (greetings and closings), it is important for the dating of a number of hitherto undated letters.[66] Moreover, since Barduccio died in 1382, this codex of his turns out to be the oldest among the collections of Catherine's letters (along with *F4*, which according to Dupré Theseider's conjecture dates in part to 1381). *C* therefore deserves to be put, along with *Mo* and *F4*, among the most precious codices of Catherine's letters.

The Caffarini Group of Manuscripts

S2/3: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.2 and T.II.3
This pair of early 15th-century codices in fact constitutes a single collection. It is a very even and handsome gothic script evidently executed by a professional scribe, and the frequent occurrence of the Tironian sign (shortened) for *et* (⁊) probably indicates a non-Italian.[67]

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[64] Motzo, "Alcune lettere di s. Caterina da Siena in parte inedite," 369–95.
[65] See Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza: ovvero Libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini, Testi Cateriani 1, 2nd edn (Siena, 1995), pp. xl–xlii.
[66] Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica." For the details of his argument, see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 1:334–35.
[67] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. li–liii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 48–50.

Caffarini in fact established a scriptorium in Venice for the purpose of disseminating Catherine's writings, and a number of its scribes named by him in the *Processo* were non-Italians. Caffarini's scriptorium was certainly the source of *S2/3*.[68]

S2 contains 81 letters to ecclesiastics; *S3* contains 139 letters to laypersons. *S2*, however, is now incomplete, because its second half (the 82nd to the 155th letters) was sent to Rome in 1658 when Pope Alexander VII wanted to examine it, and these pages have never been retrieved. The original collection, therefore, contained 294 letters, and so was the most complete collection before Aldus Manutius' printed edition.

Beyond having colored rubrics and initials, the codices are embellished with 19 page-width rectangular illustrations, nine in *S2* and ten in *S3*, placed at the head of each of the subgroups into which the letters are divided, and each representing Catherine offering her letters, in the form of long scrolls, to members of the group in question. The two manuscripts seem to have been executed under the direct control of Caffarini, who left an indication of this in numerous marginal notations.

Caffarini, according to his testimony in the *Processo* described earlier, assembled his collection before 1411, including in it all of the material in *B1* (that of *B2* remained unknown to him; in fact, as we have seen, it must have been compiled later than 1411) as well as all the letters which entered into *Mo* (only 12 letters of this collection are missing in *S2/3*; another 63 which are presently missing must have been lost with the truncation of *S2*). It does not seem possible that Caffarini actually knew of *Mo* as such, since Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi had it until 1406; nor is it probable that he knew of *B1*. It is more likely that the copyist of *S2/3* made use of other manuscripts derived from *B1* and *Mo*, the latter after the pattern of the corrected *Mo-b*.

S2, as has been mentioned, contains only letters to ecclesiastics and religious, and *S3*, letters to laypersons. In each case the letters are arranged hierarchically: in the first, from the popes on down; in the second, beginning with sovereigns and moving down to members of "third orders" and confraternities, and then to "ordinary" layfolk. Women are consistently placed after men in each group. This sort of arrangement is typical of those collections which can be traced through

[68] In *Processo Castellano*, pp. 91–92.

the Caffarini tradition; also characteristic are the headings which precede each subgroup of letters.

A textual comparison of *S2/3* with *B* and *Mo* led Dupré Theseider to the conclusion that the Caffarini collection has little value in terms of a critical edition.[69] Volpato has given it more weight, insofar as it represents a more faithful preservation of the now important opening and closing protocols than do, for example, *B* and *P2*.[70]

P4: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 56
P4 contains 165 letters, all addressed to ecclesiastics and religious. It follows the pattern of *S2*, but somewhat expanded. Without the existence of *Mo*, this would be a fairly important codex, since it would be the only source for many of Catherine's letters to ecclesiastics and religious. Now, however, it is negligible, especially given its late date (after 1461, though perhaps before 1464). The text itself conforms faithfully to *Mo-b*.[71]

S4: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.10
Written in a 15th-century humanist hand, *S4* contains, among other materials, a total of 71 letters.[72] On fol. 104a there is a pen sketch, neither finished nor colored, of Catherine giving her letters to several women religious. This sketch, along with the letters, doubtless derives from the lost part of *S2*. The text, however, is very incorrect and therefore without critical interest.

Pa: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, it. 1002
Dating to the 17th or 18th century, *Pa* contains 57 letters which reproduce (with many lacunae) the arrangement of *P4*.[73] It is of no critical interest.

Minor Manuscripts

Dupré Theseider listed in this category manuscripts which cannot be classed as true "collections" because they contain only a few of the

[69] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. liii.
[70] Volpato, "Analisi diplomatistica."
[71] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. liv–lv; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 43–44.
[72] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, pp. lv–lvi; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 50–51.
[73] See Antonio Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani della Regia Biblioteca Parigina*, 2 vols (Paris, 1835–38), 2:155–56.

letters, often the same ones, transcribed among other inspirational and devotional texts. These manuscripts should not be ignored, however, because occasionally one or the other has yielded a letter not found in the greater collections. But they are generally of no critical importance. They are given here in simple alphabetical order according to the abbreviations by which they are designated, with a brief description and an indication of which letters each contains.

As: Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnhamiano 1028
As is a 17th- or 18th-century collection of devout texts erroneously entitled, *Santa Caterina. Opuscoli.* It includes in fact only one Catherinian item, Letter T39.[74]

Bo: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2845
From the 15th century, *Bo* includes Letters T217 and T26.[75]

Bo1: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 439
Also from the 15th century, *Bo1* was once part of a larger manuscript (as seen from its pagination: 84–105), probably a miscellaneous collection, and perhaps of Carthusian or Olivetan origin.[76] It includes Letters T315, T173, T37, T4, and T321.

Bo2: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 438
Bo2 is a 15th-century codex containing Catherine's *Dialogo*, written apparently in Caffarini's Venetian scriptorium; the prayer "*O spem miram*; and Letter T188.[77]

C1: Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 2422
C1 is a 17th- or 18th-century codex, includes Letter T192, copied from the original.[78]

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[74] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lvii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 30.
[75] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lvii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 32 (as *Bo1*).
[76] *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, ed. Mazzatinti, 17:121; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 32 (as *Bo2*).
[77] *Inventari*, ed. Mazzatinti, 17:121. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 32 (as *Bo3*).
[78] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 33.

Ca: Cascia, Biblioteca Comunale Tranquillo Graziani 3
Ca, from the library of the local Augustinians, contains Letters T315, T340, T213, and T373.[79]

F5: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IV.700
F5 dates from the 15th century; it contains only one (incomplete) Catherinian letter, T359.[80]

F6: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.II.81
F6 is from the 15th century and includes Letters T179, T288, and T174.[81]

G: Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale 404
G is from the Carthusian monastery of Vallon and dates to the 15th century; it contains in Latin translation Letters T39 and T335, both addressed to Carthusians.[82]

Ge: Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria B.VIII.13
Entitled *Memorie storike del monisterio e badia di S. Girolamo della Cervara*, *Ge* contains Letters T236 and T189 (addressed to that monastery), transcribed in 1790 from the printed edition of Aldus Manutius.[83]

L: Firenze, Biblioteca Landau-Finaly 1415
L contains the *Leggenda Maggiore*, and on the last leaf, the incomplete text of Letter F15 dates to the 15th century.[84]

Pa1: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, it. 97
Pa1 dates from the 15th century and includes Letter T335.[85]

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[79] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii. He refers to Adolfo Morini, *I manoscritti e gli incunaboli della Biblioteca Comunale di Cascia* (Cascia, 1925), n. 3. The catalogue erroneously records (as reported to Dupré Theseider by its editor) that the manuscript contains five letters; Letter T213 is in fact reproduced twice.

[80] *Inventari*, ed. Mazzatinti, 11:115. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 41.

[81] *Inventari*, ed. Mazzatinti, 8:197–98. *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 41.

[82] See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques de France*, 7:141, cited [n.d.] in *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lviii; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 41.

[83] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lix.

[84] See Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, "Catheriniana," pp. 29–31; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lix.

[85] Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani della Regia Biblioteca Parigina*, 1:48–49; Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, 3 vols (Rome, 1886–88),

Pa2: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.lat. 1250
Pa2 is a 15th-century codex and includes Letter T221 in Latin.[86]

R3: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1313
Dating from the 15th century, *R3* contains Letter T221 twice.[87]

R4: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1345
R4 dates from the 15th century and contains Letter T17.[88]

R5: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1495
R5 dates to the 15th century and contains Letter T335.[89]

R6: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2205
R6 is from the 15th century and contains Letter T367, preceded by the note in Italian: "Copy of a letter written in Catherine of Siena's own hand, which I, Tiberio Menaldi, canon and penitentiary of Pisa, had in my hands, and saw and read and registered here. On its reverse: '*Mag. ci defensori del Populo e Comune di Siena*.' Within: '+ *Al nome*' *&c.*"[90]

R7 Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2967.1
R7 dates to the 16th century and contains Letters T340 and T263.[91]

R8: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2322
This is a 15th-century codex which includes Letters T174, T179, and T288 (as in *F6*).[92]

2:67; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lix.; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 45.

[86] Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani della Regia Biblioteca Parigina*, 1:48–49; Mazzatinti, *Manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, 2:67; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lix; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 46.

[87] *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca riccardiana di Firenze*, ed. Morpurgo, 1:380; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lix; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 46.

[88] *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca riccardiana di Firenze*, ed. Morpurgo, 1:406; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 46.

[89] *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca riccardiana di Firenze*, ed. Morpurgo, 1:505; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 46.

[90] "Copia di una lettera scritta di propria mano di S. Caterina da Siena, havuto in mano, e veduta, e letta e registrata qui da me Tiberio Menaldi, canonico e penitenzoere pisano. A tergo: 'Mag.ci defensori del Populo e Comune di Siena.' Intus vero: '+ Al nome' etc." (fol. 9) *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 47.

[91] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 47.

[92] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 47.

R9: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2272
R9 is from the 15th century and contains Letters T174, T179, and T288 as in *R8*.[93]

S7: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.13
S7 dates from perhaps the late 14th century and contains Catherine's *Dialogo*. On the first five leaves are the Letters T292, T314, T221, T17, T187, and T314 (the last repeated, but with the second copy incomplete).[94]

S8: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.9
S8 dates from the early 15th century and contains the *Dialogo*, with rubrics of the chapters written by the scribe of *Mo*. At the end of this text one finds Letter T373 and some of the devout texts found in *Mo* and *S6*.[95]

S9: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati D.VI.7
S9 dates to the 18th century and contains Letter T367.[96]

Va1: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 939
Va1 dates to the 15th century and contains Letters T221 and T173, both in Latin.[97]

Va2: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano B.VII.120.VI
Va2 is from the mid-17th century and contains Letters T185, T291, T11, T199, T109, T243, and T16, all fragmentary.[98]

Va3: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. 2462
Va3 has the same content as *Va2*.[99]

Va4: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. 2484
Va4 has the same content as *Va2*.[100]

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[93] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 47.
[94] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 52.
[95] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx–lxi; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 52.
[96] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lxi; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, pp. 52–53.
[97] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lxi; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 53 (as *Va*).
[98] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lxi.
[99] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lxi. (He does not specify a date for *Va3* or *Va4*.)
[100] *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lxi.

Ve: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ital. 4946
Ve dates from the 15th century and contains Letter T221, incomplete.[101]

Il Dialogo

While Catherine's letters are the better window to her personality, growth, and personal relationships, the *Dialogo* has long been considered her crowning work, her bequest of her teaching to her followers. She called it simply *il libro*, "the book," and in her last letter to Raymond of Capua, as noted above, she entrusted its destiny and that of her other writings to him and a few other trusted disciples.[102]

Certain twists in the path by which the tradition has come into English have ended in a rather common belief that Catherine dictated the *Dialogo* entirely in the space of a single five-day ecstasy.[103] The total composite of references to the work by Catherine herself and a number of her contemporaries, however, makes it clear that the book was written at intervals over a much longer time, close to a year.

Both Raymond and Caffarini set the beginning and immediate motive of the work in a particularly significant mystical experience. Raymond writes:

> About two years before her death, such a clarity of Truth was revealed to her divinely that Catherine was compelled to pour it forth in writing, and to ask her secretaries to be prepared to take down whatever they heard from her mouth whenever they noticed that she had gone into ecstasy. So, in a short time, a certain book was composed which contains a certain dialogue between a soul, who asks the Lord four questions, and the Lord himself, who responds to her and enlightens her with many very useful truths.[104]

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[101] Carlo Frati and Arnaldo Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei codici Marciani italiani a cura della direzione della R. Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco in Venezia*, 2 vols (Modena, 1909–11), 1:243–44; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lxi.

[102] Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Sulla composizione del *Dialogo* di Santa Caterina da Siena," *Giornale storica della letteratura italiana* 117 (1941), 161–202.

[103] Cf. especially the "Introduction" in J. Hurtaud, trans., *Le dialogue de sainte Catherine de Sienne. Traduction nouvelle de l'Italien* (Paris, 1930); and Jorgensen, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, p. 311. The latter, however, takes a broader view in n. 8, p. 428.

[104] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675) [hereafter *Legenda maior*], cols 853A–959B, III.2.349.941B (see Introduction to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*): "Unde circa biennium ante transitum eius, tanta claritas ei veritatis divinitus est aperta, quod coacta est ipsam per scripturam effundere ac

Caffarini further specifies that she "composed her book and set it in order."[105]

The experience referred to is without a doubt the one Catherine elaborates in a long letter to Raymond, written from Rocca d'Orcia in early October 1377, the letter that was to form the framework and basic content of her book. She tells of having offered four petitions to God (for the reform of the Church, for the whole world, for Raymond's spiritual welfare, and for a certain unnamed person), to each of which, in her ecstasy, God had responded with specific teachings.[106] Catherine probably began the work then and there, while still at the Rocca. In the same letter to Raymond, she relates how she had suddenly learned to write, and in another to Alessa dei Saracini, she tells of God's having given her a diversion from her pains in her writing.[107] In any case, the book must have taken some shape by the time she left on her second peacemaking mission to Florence late that year or early in the next, for in late May or early June of 1378, she writes to Stefano Maconi back in Siena:

> I sent word to the countess asking for my book.[108] I've waited for it for several days and it doesn't come. So if you go there, tell her to send it at once; otherwise tell anyone who is going there to give her the message. And don't forget.[109]

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scriptores suos rogare,…cum in extasi positam eam sentirent, ad scribendum essent parati, quidquid ab ore ipsius audirent. Sicque in brevi tempore compositus est quidam liber, qui continet quemdam dialogum inter unam animam, quae quatuor petitiones petebat a Domino, et ipsum Dominum respondentem, ac eam de multis utilissimis veritatibus informantem." It is to references such as this that we owe the book's present title. Catherine's early disciples variously called it *The Book of Divine Providence*, *The Book of Divine Teaching*, *The Dialogue*, *The Dialogue of Divine Providence.*

[105] *Leggenda minore*, ed. Grottanelli, 3.3, p. 157: "…ella compose et ordinò uno Suo Libro."

[106] Letter T272 in *Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni. For English translation, see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T272/G90, 2:494–506). For a detailed presentation of parallels between this letter and the *Dialogo*, see Dupré Theseider, "Sulla composizione del *Dialogo*."

[107] Letter T119 in *Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni. For English translation, see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, 2:699–702.

[108] The countess was Benedetta dei Salimbeni, with whom Catherine had stayed while at Rocca d'Orcia.

[109] Letter T365 in *Opera Omnia. Testi e concordanze*, ed. Sbaffoni: "Mandai a chiedere alla Contessa el libro mio; e òllo aspettato parecchie dì, e non viene. E però se tu vai là, dì che 'l mandi subito; o tu ordina che chi vi va el dica, e non manchi." For English translation, see *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, ed. Noffke, Letter T365/G256, 3: 133–37, at p. 137.

She certainly spent some time on the manuscript between acts during those tumultuous months in Florence.[110] She left it behind at her quick departure, and on her return to Siena wrote to Francesco di Pipino, who had almost certainly been her host there: "Give Francesco the book…for I want to write something in [it]."[111] Significantly, Raymond records that when the peace treaty between Florence and Pope Gregory XI had been announced, "she returned home and attended more diligently to the composition of a certain book, which she dictated in her own vernacular, inspired by the supernal Spirit."[112]

The book must have been in a form Catherine considered finished before the Schism had fully erupted (September 1378), for there is no allusion to schism in it, though there is much about corruption in the Church and the need for reform. Also, Caffarini states that she had finished the book before she was called to Rome in November 1378.[113]

The testimony of Catherine's contemporaries is unanimous that the book involved a great deal of dictation on her part while she was in ecstasy.[114] And Caffarini in his testimony in the *Processo Castellano* adds some fascinating details:

> Likewise I say how I very often saw that the virgin in Siena, especially after her return from Avignon, was rapt beyond her senses, except for the voice in which she dictated to various writers, at once or in succession, sometimes letters and sometimes the book, in different times and in different places as the ability given her allowed. Sometimes she did this with her hands crossed on her breast as she walked about the room; sometimes she was on her knees or in other postures; but she always held her face elevated toward heaven. Concerning the composition of her book, then, this among other marvels occurred in the virgin, namely that when situations arose such that several days passed in which she

[110] In fact, the periods when various parts of the work were composed can be deduced from substantial parallels in Catherine's letters. This author has assembled data for such a study, but the paper has yet to be written.

[111] Addendum to Letter T179, published by Fawtier, "Cateriniana," p. 7: "Date a Francesco el libro…perché vi voglio scrivere alcuna cosa."

[112] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.332.936F–937A: "ad proprios rediit lares, et circa compositionem cuiusdam libri, quem superno Spiritu afflata dictavit in suo vulgari, diligentius intendebat."

[113] *Leggenda minore*, ed. Grottanelli, 3.1, p. 149.

[114] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.1.332.937A; *Memorie di ser Cristofano*, ed. Innocenzo Taurisano in *Fioretti di Santa Caterina da Siena*, p. 37; testimonies of Stefano Maconi, Francesco Malavolti, Bartolomeo de' Dominici, in *Processo Castellano*, cited in Alvaro Grion, *Santa Caterina da Siena. Dottrina e fonti* (Brescia 1953), p. 318; Caffarini, *Libellus de Supplemento*, 3.6.6, pp. 389–90.

> was kept from furthering her dictation, as soon as a suitable time was granted her she would begin at the point where she had left off as if there had been no interruption or time lapse. Moreover, as is evident in the course of her book, sometimes after she had dictated several pages she would summarize or recapitulate the main content as if the things she had said as well as the things that were to be said were (and in fact they were) actively present to her mind.[115]

The style of the *Dialogo*, however, betrays not only such "ecstatic dictation" but also a great deal of painstaking and sometimes awkward expanding of passages written earlier. There is every reason to believe that Catherine herself did this editing. First of all, it is not an editing in the direction of more polished style, which it probably would have been had it been the work of any of her scribes, for they were men whose own style reflected their learning. And if Raymond's attitude is typical, they considered the saint's writings too sacred to tamper with. "So that no one will think…I am adding anything of my own," Raymond writes,

> I call on first truth itself as my judge and witness…that in as far as I knew and was able, I have kept the order of her words and I have tried, so far as Latin syntax allows, to translate word for word, although strictly speaking, this cannot perhaps be done everywhere without adding something, such as a conjunction or an adverb in Latin, that was not there in the vernacular. These things do not, however, change or add to the meaning; above all they lend elegance to the meaning through word order or they state the thoughts more clearly.[116]

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[115] *Processo Castellano*, p. 51: "Item dico quomodo etiam quampluribus vicibus vidi virginem in Senis, et signanter postquam illuc rediit de Avinione, fuisse abstractam a sensibus, oraculo vive vocis excepto, quo dictabat diversis scriptoribus simul vel successive aliquando epistolas, aliquando librum diversis in locis et temporibus, prout se eidem abilitas offerebat, et hoc aliquotiens cancellatis ad pectus manibus per cameram incedendo, aliquotiens flexis genibus vel aliter se habendo: ita tamen quod semper faciem versus celum elevatam tenebat. Apparendo etiam in virgine circa libri sui compositionem inter alia hoc mirabile, videlicet quod cum ex emergentibus causis transirent plures dies, in quibus sibi ad dictandum procedere non liceret, concesso sibi tamen apto postmodum tempore, ita ubi dimiserat resumebat ac si nullum intervallum aut intermissio sibi fieret quomodolibet occurrisset. Insuper ut in decursu libri sui evidenter apparet, postquam etiam aliquando per plures cartas dictavit, ita tamen principale intentum resumit sive epilogat ac si tam dicta quam dicenda fuissent, sicut et de facto erant, pariter et actualiter presentia menti sue."

[116] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, III.2.350.941C: "Verum ne quisquam putet, quod…aliquid addam de meo, ipsam veritatem primam…invoco testem et iudicem, quod…quantum scivi et potui, servavi ordinem verborum eius et conatus sum, quantum Latinum locutio patitur, transferre de verbo ad verbum: quamvis strictissime loquendo, hoc fieri forsitan usquequaque non possit, quin quandoque aliqua interjectio,

Furthermore, in addition to his reference to Catherine's setting her book in order, Caffarini records having been told by Stefano Maconi that the latter had seen Catherine writing with her own hand "several pages of the book which she herself composed in her own vernacular."[117]

It has already been noted that the *Dialogo* owes much of its content and structure to the experience Catherine related to Raymond in her letter (T272) of October 1377. Dupré Theseider elaborates further direct parallels between Letters T64 and T65 and Chapters 98 to 104 of the *Dialogo*.[118] A number of other letters also parallel portions of the *Dialogo* so closely that the letters and relevant passages of the book were almost certainly written about the same times.[119]

The totally "original" manuscript of the *Dialogo* has not survived. Our nearest access is through a comparison of the manuscripts which come from the hands of Catherine's immediate disciples, a critical work done by Giuliana Cavallini in her second edition of the book in 1995.[120] Cavallini's research led her to the judgment that the manuscript closest to the original transcription of the work is Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 292, a manuscript traceable to Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, who with Stefano Maconi and Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi was responsible for the original recording of Catherine's dictation, and therefore certainly written before Barduccio's death on 8 December 1382.

Other manuscripts Cavallini considered significant are the following:

1. Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.9, a manuscript apparently signed by Stefano Maconi and probably from the 14th century (though Maconi lived until 1424);
2. Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria t.6.5, early 15th century;
3. Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Gaddiano Pluteo 89 sup. 100, 14th or 15th century;
4. Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.13, 15th century;

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copula, vel adverbium in Latino ponatur, quod positum non fuerat in vulgari: sed haec non habent sensum inmutare nec etiam augmentare, sed potius locutionis per ordinem ornare sensum, seu sententias apertius declarare…"

[117] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, 1.1.9, p. 18: "aliquas cartas de libro quem ipsa in suo vulgari composuit."

[118] Dupré Theseider, "Sulla composizione del *Dialogo*."

[119] As mentioned earlier, this author has made a compilation of such texts, but the paper is yet to be written.

[120] Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo della divina Provvidenza*, ed. Cavallini.

5. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano CL XXXV, 77, 15th century;
6. Roma, Biblioteca del Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani R.V.1, 15th century;
7. Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.4, early 15th century, containing Cristofano di Gano Guidini's Latin translation (from which the very first English translation was made soon after, and printed in 1519 by Wynken de Worde as *The Orcherd of Syon*);[121]
8. Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV.24, 14th century, containing the Latin translation done by Raymond of Capua; and
9. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 134 (B120), 14th century, containing Stefano Maconi's Latin translation.

Two other manuscripts had been consulted by Cavallini in her first edition (1968) but were not considered significant for the later edition:

1. An uncataloged manuscript belonging to the family of Senator Pietro Fedele (1873–1943); and
2. Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AD.IX.36, 14th century.

Several other manuscripts of minor importance are listed by Luisa Aurigemma.[122]

Le Orazioni

Catherine often prayed aloud, and many of these prayers, though surely not nearly all of them, were preserved by certain of her disciples who acted as her scribes. Some occur within the context of her letters (for she would burst into prayer while dictating as readily as during conversation). Some are found within her book, the *Dialogo*. Some (whether from memory or from actual notes) have been incorporated into narratives of her life. Some, finally, were taken down as

[121] For the critical edition, see Catherine of Siena, *Orcherd of Syon. Edited from the Early Manuscripts*, eds. Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, EETS Original Series 258 (London, 1966).

[122] See Luisa Aurigemma, "La tradizione manoscritta del *Dialogo della Divina Provvidenza* di Santa Caterina da Siena," *Critica letteraria* 16 (1988), 237–58.

she prayed aloud in ecstasy; these eventually became part of a specific collection. It is the last group with which we are concerned here.[123] These 26 prayers are all from the last four years of Catherine's life, most of them from her final 17 months.

We are very seldom told in specific instances who transcribed these prayers. Both Raymond of Capua and Tommaso Petra (at that time a papal notary in Avignon) are given credit in the manuscripts for the first two. Raymond was also among those who may have witnessed the third, but was not present for any of the rest. Bartolomeo Dominici, Catherine's long-time close friend and second confessor, who was with her much of the time except during the early months of 1380, states that he recorded some of the prayers, and that just as many were taken down by others.[124] Surely one of these others was Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, another close friend and her most constant scribe during her entire stay in Rome (November 1378 until her death on 29 April 1380). Of her other chief scribes, Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi was also with her much of the time in Rome. Stefano Maconi was there only at the very end. Stefano, however, as well as Neri, had been with her at Avignon, Genoa, Siena, and Rocca d'Orcia. Caffarini's possible role is a bit more difficult to determine. We know that he was among her earliest disciples, but though he wrote much about her after her death, we do not know whether he ever served her as a scribe or whether he might have recorded any of these prayers.

Unlike the manuscript tradition for Catherine's the *Dialogo* and the *Epistole*, where the extant Italian text is clearly primary and very close if not identical to the original transcription, these prayers have survived in parallel though not always fully matching Italian and Latin versions. Table 1 charts the occurrence and sequence of the prayers in the manuscripts and printed editions. The numbers under "P" are the numbers assigned to the prayers in the Noffke edition[125] and repre-

[123] Many of the prayers from the other sources mentioned, except the *Legendae* of Raymond of Capua and Caffarini, have been gathered into a single volume by an anonymous "Cateriniano" under the title *Tutte le preghiere ed elevazioni di S. Caterina, Dottore della Chiesa* (Rome, 1971). Those reported in the *Legendae* were collected in Catherine of Siena, *Preghiere ed elevazioni*, ed. Innocenzo Taurisano, 2nd edn (Rome, 1932).

[124] His testimony in the *Processo Castellano*, p. 329.

[125] *The Prayers of Catherine of Siena*, 2nd edn, trans. and ed. Suzanne Noffke (New York, 2001).

sent the chronological order as established by Giuliana Cavallini (but not followed in her own sequencing of the prayers).[126] Numbers under each of the manuscript sigla indicate the sequence in which the prayers occur in each of these manuscripts. Where the language in a given manuscript is mixed (in *E*, *S2*, and *V*), the language of each prayer is given. For the printed editions, the numbers given are those assigned to the individual prayers by the respective editors.[127] Note that the 12th prayer in *N* is incomplete. The introductory rubric, which is shared, with very minor variations, by three of the earliest extant manuscripts containing 22 of the prayers in Latin (*R*, *S1*, and *N*), states that "they were taken down in Latin by one or several of her disciples, word for word, as this holy maiden offered them in her own dialect."[128]

Was none of these prayers, then, actually recorded in Catherine's own language as she spoke? From the linguistic evidence of the text this is hard to believe, for in most cases the Italian seems the more original of the two versions. It may be true that one scribe or another did translate simultaneously into Latin as he listened and wrote, given the common prejudice of the time which assumed that no educated person would deign to read or write anything but Latin. Yet, there is also the established fact that these same scribes had, less than a year before, taken down Catherine's dictation for the *Dialogo* and would translate that work into Latin only after her death. It might be argued that in the case of the *Dialogo*, Catherine was exercising a proprietorship over the work that apparently no longer interested her where her prayers were concerned. Perhaps, then, some of the prayers were recorded in simultaneous Latin translation and then later re-translated into Italian, while others were recorded in Italian to be translated later into Latin. For seven prayers, in fact, there is no extant manuscript version in Italian, while for every Italian manuscript version there is a Latin parallel (see Table 1).

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[126] *Le Orazioni di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini (Siena, 1993).

[127] "A" = *Epistole devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Siena* (*Le Orazioni*), ed. Aldus Manutius (Venice, 1500); "G" = *Opere della serafica Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Gigli, vol. 4, *Il Dialogo e le Orazioni*; "T" = *Preghiere ed elevazioni*, ed. Taurisano; "C" = *Le Orazioni di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. Cavallini.

[128] "Et a quodam vel a quibusdam suis devotis de verbo ad verbum prout in suo vulgari ab ipsa virgine sacra proferebantur in latinum collecte" (*R*, fol. 173a; *N*, fol. 118a; *S1*, fol. 33a).

Table 1. Occurrence and sequence of *Orazioni* in manuscripts and printed editions

P	E	Latin Manuscripts					Ital.	Mixed	Printed Editions			
		Sla	R	N	S3	B	Slb	S2, V	A	G	T	C
1	15(It)	1	1	1			9	1(It)	I	I	I	I
2	16(It)	2	2	2			10	2(It)	I	II	I	II
1–2								7–8(It)				I–II
3	1(L)	3	3	3					II	III	II	III
4								3(L)	XXII	XXIII	III	XXIII
5							17	5(L)	XXIV	XXV	IV	XXIV
6					f.6b	f.3a		6(It)	III	IV		XXV
7	2(L)	5	5	5					V	VI	V	V
8	3(L)	6	6	6					XVIII	XIX	VI	VI
9	12(It)	19	19				6		XV	XVI	VII	XIX
10	13(It)	20	20				7		XVI	XVII	VIII	XX
11	14(It)	21	21				8		XVII	XVIII	IX	XXI
12	17(It)	22	22				11		XXIII	XXIV	XVIII	XXII
13	18(It)	4	4	4			12		IV	V	X	IV
14	19(It)	7	7	7			13		VI	VII	XI	VII
15	20(It)	8	8	8			14		VII	VIII	XII	VIII
16	21(It)	9	9	9			15		VIII	IX	XIII	IX
17	22(It)	10	10	10			16		IX	X	XIV	X
18	7(It)	11	11	11			1		X	XI	XV	XI
19	5(L)	12	12	12 (inc.)					XIX	XX	XVI	XII
20	6(L)	13	13						XX	XXI	XVII	XIII
21	8(L)	15	15				2		XI	XII	XX	XV
22	11(It)	17	17				5		XIV	XV	XIX	XVII
23	10(It)	16	16				4		XIII	XIV	XXII	XVI
24	9(It)	18	18				3		XII	XIII	XXI	XVIII
25	4(L)	14	14						XXI	XXII	XXIII	XIV
26					f.117	f.43d		4(It)	XXV	XXVI	XXIV	XXVI

The clue to the puzzle may well lie in the earliest known collection of the *Orazioni*, a collection which, unfortunately, is known only through a sketchy description in the margins of another late 14th-century collection, *R*, where it is named the "Epitaph of Dom Stefano, Carthusian."

"Epitaph": The "Epitaph of Stefano Maconi"

In the margins of *R*, an anonymous scribe has added notes beside each prayer concerning its date, place, and sometimes other circumstances, and mentioning consistently the existence of each, either in Latin or in Italian, in a certain *Epitaphium domini Stephani Cartusiensis* [Epitaph of Dom Stefano the Carthusian], referring to Stefano Maconi,

who joined that Order after Catherine's death and later became prior at Pavia. Robert Fawtier, following Julien Luchaire, held that it was Caffarini—Maconi's friend since boyhood—who had penned these notes in 1398, just 18 years after Catherine's death.[129] Whoever the author of the notes may have been, they permit us, by their indication of the language and page of each prayer, to reconstruct at least the basic composition if not the text of the "Epitaph." And by far the most interesting factor brought out by such a reconstruction is that, of the 22 prayers said to exist in the "Epitaph,"[130] 15 are said to be in Italian, and only seven in Latin—six of which have no Italian parallels in other known manuscripts. It seems not entirely improbable that, at least so far as these 22 prayers are concerned, the 15 in Italian were originally recorded in that language, and the other seven in Latin.[131]

The notes in *R* concerning the "Epitaph" are interesting from another point of view as well. Their pagination begins with 141. What, then, filled the first 140 leaves? Fawtier speculates that it may have been Stefano Maconi's transcription of the *Dialogo*, of which a copy exists in the Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati of Siena comprising exactly 138 leaves. If the "Epitaph" was indeed composed of Catherine's *Dialogo* and a collection of her prayers, Maconi did well in calling it an "Epitaph," for he could aptly have considered Catherine's own works to be the best possible "funeral oration" for her. Perhaps he was even recalling the Augustinian Giovanni Tantucci's vain attempt to deliver such an oration for Catherine over the din of the miracle-seeking crowd the day of her burial. Tantucci had finally simply said, "You can see that I am incapable of preaching about this young woman; but never mind: she herself preaches about herself most adequately."[132]

If only this "Epitaph" could again see the light of day (assuming that it may still exist in some obscure and uncatalogued library), we might

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[129] Robert Fawtier, *Saint Catherine de Sienne: Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 1, *Sources hagiographiques* (Paris, 1921), p. 110; Julien Luchaire, "Un manuscrit de la légende de sainte Catherine de Sienne," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 19 (1899), 149–58.

[130] There may have been more, but there are only 22 in the Latin collection to which the notes are added.

[131] The seven originally recorded in Latin are (in the order of their occurrence in the "Epitaph"): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8, with only 4 having a known manuscript Italian counterpart. (The numbers of these prayers in the Noffke translation and in the Cavallini edition are, respectively: 3/III, 7/V, 8/VI, 25/XIV, 19/XII, 20/XIII, and 21/XV.)

[132] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, 3.6.4, p. 386: "Ecce quia predicare de hac virgine non valeo, sed non est curandum quia ipsa de se sufficientissime predicat."

be nearer than we are now to these prayers just as Catherine prayed them, and the textual inconsistencies that still remain unexplained might be resolved.

Extant Manuscripts of the Orazioni

R: Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV.24
Probably the oldest extant manuscript of the *Orazioni*, this large codex dates to the end of the 14th century and contains 22 of Catherine's prayers. The margins of *R* hold the notes which provide the only remaining evidence of the existence of the "Epitaph of Stefano Maconi."

S1: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.7
This codex also dates to the late 14th century and contains a number of other works in addition to the *Orazioni.* A note on an 18th-century flyleaf states that these prayers were collected by Bartolomeo Dominici. The volume as it now exists consists of two separate codices which were bound together only in the 18th century (thus the late date of the flyleaf). The first, *S1a*, is in Latin and contains the same 22 prayers as *R*, in the same order. The second, *S1b*, in Italian, contains 17 prayers, all but the last corresponding with the prayers in the Latin series but in a different order. The two codices are numbered consecutively. The initial *O* of the first prayer in each is illuminated with a miniature of Catherine at prayer.

N: Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III XIV.B.40
N is either contemporary with or just slightly later than *R* and *S1*. Less accurate in its spelling than these, it begins the same series of prayers in Latin but ends about halfway through the 12th prayer.

S2: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.14
This early 15th-century codex contains, among other Catherinian items, 96 of Catherine's letters, with the last of which are intermingled four prayers in Latin and two in Italian, plus an abridged version of *Orazioni* 1 and 2. This codex and *V* are of particular importance because they contain texts not found in any other extant manuscript (see Table 1).

V: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Palatino 3514
This contains the same prayers, interpolated with the same letters, as *S2*.

S3: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.2 and B: Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria 1574
Both of these early 15th-century manuscripts are important primarily as codices of Caffarini's *Libellus de Supplemento*. But both contain *Orazioni* 6 and 26 incorporated into their text, and provide the only known Latin version of those two prayers.

M: München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2º Cod. MS 123[133]
This paper manuscript of the early 1460s was not consulted by Cavallini. It includes, from fols 135ra through 146vb, 22 of the prayers in Italian, with transmission attributed to Stefano Maconi and Tommaso da Siena (Caffarini). The prayers are preceded (fols 1–134vb) by sermons of Dominican friars. (The manuscript was confiscated from the Dominican priory in Landshut during the Napoleonic Secularization in the early 19th century.) After the prayers (fols 147ra–154vb) are several minor tributes to Catherine of Siena.

Conclusion

The rich manuscript tradition of Catherine's works, along with the multiplicity of printed editions and translations which have followed, attests to the significance of her place not only in religious history but in the history of Italy and its literature as well. Her works are among the earliest to have been disseminated, and among the first printed, in the Italian vernacular. Her person and her works have, additionally, seen a resurgence of popularity in recent decades—as thinker, as mystic, as activist, as woman.

Appendix: The Major Manuscripts of the Works of Catherine of Siena

Le Epistole

1. *The Pagliaresi Group of Manuscripts*

F3: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV, 199
F4: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXVIII, 130
M: Modena, Archivio capitolare, Confraternita della Santissima Annunziata, SA 1

[133] I am grateful to the editors for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

Mo [M*o-a, Mo-b, M*o-*c*]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Palatino 3514
Ro: Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S. Pantaleo, 9
S5: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.14
S6: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.12

2. *The Maconi Group of Manuscripts*

A: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I.162 inf.
B: Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AD.XIII.34
F1: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.VIII.5 (Magliabechiano XXXIX, 90)
F2: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV, 187
H: London, British Library, Harley 3480
Nd: Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library 18
P1: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 58
P2: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 60
P3: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 57
P5: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 59
R1: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1678
R2: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1303
S1: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.III.5 (formerly T.III.6)
T: Torino, Biblioteca Reale, varia 155
V: Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci 6140

3. *The Canigiani Manuscript*

C: Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 292

4. *The Caffarini Group of Manuscripts:*

Pa: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien 1002
P4: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 56
S2: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.2
S3: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.2 and T.II.3
S4: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.10

5. *Minor Manuscripts*

As: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnhamiano 1028
Bo: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2845
Bo1: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 439
Bo2: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 438
C1: Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 2422
Ca: Cascia, Biblioteca Comunale Tranquillo Graziani 3
F5: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IV.700
F6: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.II.81
G: Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale 404
Ge: Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria B.VIII.13

L: Firenze, Biblioteca Landau-Finaly 1415
Pa1: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, it. 97
Pa2: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions, lat. 1250
R3: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1313
R4: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1345, 15th century, contains Letter T17.[134]
R5: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1495
R6: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2205
R7: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2967.1
R8: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2322
R9: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2272
S7: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.13
S8: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.9
S9: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati D.VI.7
Va1: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 939
Va2: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. B.VII.120.VI
Va3: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. 2462
Va4: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. 2484
Ve: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ital. 4946

Il Dialogo

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Gaddiano, Pluteo LXXXIX sup. 100
Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano CL XXXV, 77
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 134 (B120)
Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AD.IX.36
Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria t.6.5
Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, XIV. 24
Roma, Biblioteca del Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani R.V.1
Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.13
Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.9
Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.4
Uncatalogued manuscript belonging to the family of Senator Pietro Fedele

Le Orazioni

B: Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria 1574
M: München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. MS 123
N: Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale XIV.B.40
R: Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV.24
S1: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.II.7
S2: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati I.VI.14
S3: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.2
V: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Palatino 3514

[134] *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca riccardiana di Firenze*, ed. Morpurgo, 1:406; *Epistolario*, ed. Dupré Theseider, p. lx; Fawtier, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne*, p. 46.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE *LEGENDA MAIOR* OF CATHERINE OF SIENA

Silvia Nocentini

The *Legenda maior* is the earliest biography of Catherine of Siena and represents the most important narrative source about her life. No one who is interested in studying her can ignore this work. Until now the authoritative text of the *Legenda maior* has been the *Acta Sanctorum* edition.[1] The well-known Bollandist Daniel Papebroch had available for his edition only two sources, the *editio princeps* (Cologne, 1533) and one manuscript from the Charterhouse of Liège.[2] In 2004, Jörg Jungmayr produced a modern edition[3] in which he transcribed and translated into German the reading offered by codex Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. IV. 75, which had a central role in the diffusion of Catherine's life in Germany. A critical edition of the Latin text, based upon the *collatio* of all extant manuscripts, is being prepared by the present author, within the framework of a project of the Centro Internazionale di Studi Cateriniani in Rome.[4]

Here I will offer some remarks upon the written tradition of the *Legenda maior*, how it was handed down, by whom and why, and I will try to verify the historical evidence through close philological examination; in other words, I shall study the history of this text and of its meaning, keeping in mind who read it and who copied it in the past. But before we go further, some preliminary remarks need to be made. First of all, I will briefly treat of the composition and the narrative structure of the *Legenda maior* in order to take stock of the

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[1] Raymond of Capua, *Vita S. Catharina Senensis*, Acta Sanctorum, III Aprilis, Dies 30 (Antwerp, 1675), cols 853A–959B (hereafter *Legenda maior*; see *Introduction* to the present volume, n. 4, for an explanation of the reference system for the *Legenda maior*).

[2] Probably the same manuscript preserved in Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université 361 (*a*.1468).

[3] Raymond of Capua, *Die "Legenda maior" ("Vita Catharinae Senensis") des Raimund von Capua. Edition nach der Nürnberger Handschrift Cent. IV, 75, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. and trans. into German by Jörg Jungmayr (Berlin, 2004), with useful introduction and notes.

[4] The edition began in my preliminary study at the doctoral level: *La "Legenda beate Caterine Senensis" di Raimondo da Capua* (Ph.D. diss., University of Florence, 2000).

critical studies about this text and clear up the successive passages of this study, which concern the complex handling of Catherine's sanctity within the circle of her disciples and companions.

The number of historical-critical studies specifically about the *Legenda maior* is not as large as the abundant general bibliography on Catherine.[5] Apart from simple stereotyped biographies and similar devotional essays, there are essentially three cornerstones for Catherinian research. First is the work of Robert Fawtier, who laid the foundations of modern Catherinian criticism in two books.[6] Fawtier's principal aim was to cut through the rhetorical ornament of the primary sources, in order to determine as precisely as possible the historical truth about Catherine. From this perspective, he does not look upon the hagiographical corpus positively because he considers it to some degree untrustworthy, and at times completely unreliable. Fawtier's study is invaluable for the vast quantity of sources he personally examined and discussed in his volumes. The second is Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, a Dominican historian who, from among all the scholars of Catherine of Siena, has been the one most devoted to the subject; it is thanks to his series *Fontes vitae s. Catharinae Senensis historici* that we can read critical editions of some of the most important documents regarding Tommaso Caffarini's activities in relation to Catherine and her cult, such as the *Processo Castellano*[7] and the *Tractatus de Ordine fratrum et sororum de poenitentia sancti Dominici* (1402–07).[8] He also compiled an extensive, if incomplete, draft list of manuscripts containing the *Legenda maior*.[9] The third cornerstone is the work of Ezio Franceschini on the *legendae minores* and *minimae* devoted to Catherine, in particular Caffarini's *Legenda minor*, which

[5] Lina Zanini, *Bibliografia analitica di S. Caterina da Siena, 1901–1950* (Rome, 1977); Lina Zanini and Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1951–1975* (Rome, 1985); Maria Carlotta Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1976–1985* (Rome, 1989); Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1986–1990* (Rome, 2000); Paterna, *Bibliografia, 1991–2000* (Rome, 2003).

[6] Robert Fawtier, *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 1, *Sources hagiographiques* (Paris, 1921); and id., *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources*, vol. 2, *Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne* (Paris, 1930).

[7] *Il Processo Castellano. Con appendice di documenti sul culto e la canonizzazione di S. Caterina da Siena*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 9 (Milan, 1942).

[8] Caffarini, *Tractatus de ordine FF. de poenitentia S. Dominici de F. Tommaso da Siena*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici 21 (Florence, 1938).

[9] Published in *Analecta Bollandiana* 69 (1951), 189–90.

he commented[10] and edited[11] in two volumes; here one finds some emendations to the *Acta Sanctorum* text of the *Legenda maior*.

Catherine died in Rome on 29 April 1380, and her saintly fame was already very great. On 12 May of the same year, the general chapter of the Order of Preachers elected, as General for the Roman obedience, Raymond of Capua,[12] who had been in the six previous years not only the confessor but also the first advocate of Catherine. On the occasion of the *translatio* of Catherine's head from Rome to Siena, on 12 October 1385, Raymond announced that he had begun to write her *Legenda*, and from then the work took almost ten years to complete.[13] Raymond was deeply involved in his work as governor of the Order, during the Great Schism, when the expectations of a new spirituality arose which was to take root in the Observant current of the Dominicans. Accordingly, Raymond continued to write slowly some parts of the *Legenda* in between his other duties.

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[10] Ezio Franceschini, *Leggenda minore di santa Caterina da Siena* (Milan, 1942).

[11] Caffarini, *Sanctae Catherinae Senensis Legenda Minor*, ed. Ezio Franceschini, Fontes Vitae S. Catherinae Senensis Historici 10 (Milan, 1942).

[12] Concerning the life and the works of Raymond, see A.W. Van Ree, 'Raymond de Capoue. Éléments biographiques,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 33 (1963), 159–241; Katherine Walsh and Piero Bertolini, "Della Vigna, Raimondo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 38 (Rome, 1990), pp. 784–89; Daniel Antonin Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, 8 vols (Paris, 1903–20), 3:491–686; Hyacinthe-Marie Cormier, *Le bienheureux Raimond de Capoue* (Rome, 1889); Pierre Raffin, "Raymond de Capoue," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité: ascetique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, 17 vols (Paris, 1937–95) 13:167–71; and Thomas Kaeppeli and Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols (Rome, 1970–93), 3:288.

[13] Catherine's head was sent to Dominican friars in San Domenico in Siena by Pope Urban VI in 1381, but the friars kept it hidden, because Catherine was not yet canonized. Four years later, Raymond organized a solemn and public celebration of this *translatio*. Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, 2.11, according to the transcription I made of the manuscript Rome, Archivio Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV. 24, fol. 197, ll. 31–52 (hereafter the quotations from the *Legenda maior* come from this transcription or from the earliest stage of the critical constitution of the text I am preparing): "Eram in eodem conventu [Senensi] ferme ante hos annos quinque, balneis naturalibus ibi propinquis indigens secundum medicorum consilium, et ad instantiam filiorum et filiarum suarum scribere hanc Legendam inceperam, recordatusque sum quod capud eius, quod de Urbe translatum illuc fuerat hactenus ac per me iuxta modulum meum ornatum, nondum erat in patulo nec cum quacumque sollempnitate receptum…cogitavi igitur, forsitan non totaliter a me ipso, quod capud eius prefatum una die quasi de foris veniens reciperetur cum sollemnitate a fratribus divinas laudes comunes quidem cantantibus, quia particulares de ipsa non licet quousque sit per romanum pontificem cathalogo santorum ascripta. Quod factum est uno mane cum letitia tam fratrum quam populi." See also Caterina Gazzi, *Le reliquie di S. Caterina da Siena* (Rome, 1935).

The *Legenda maior* was symbolically divided into three parts, according to a scheme Raymond of Capua liked to use:[14] the first two volumes, each one with 12 chapters, draw out the earthly biography of Catherine, following a chronological sketch; the third volume is composed of six chapters, of which only the first ones clearly continue from the earlier parts of the work, whereas the others seem to be a muddled collection of writings that include a few testimonies on miracles, the partial translation from Italian into Latin of the *Liber de divina providentia*, and even the rewriting of a story, that Raymond had already told in the second volume, about the political struggle of Catherine in Florence.

Raymond had to be solicited several times by his friars and disciples: after five years, in 1390, he was still writing the 8th chapter of the second part of the *Legenda*; two years later, in February 1392, the work was still not finished, as we learn from two letters that Caffarini sent to Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi from Genoa, where he was with the General Master:

> The Order's reverend Master is here…to establish harmony in all of Italy, that is why he was for a long time and will be again busier than he could imagine, and could yet not complete the *Legenda* of the holy mother. In fact after he landed here, he believed he would soon go back to Venice where he has everything he needs, and I certainly believe that if he was there where he wanted to be he would have finished it. However I pressed him and will press again that he does not leave Italy until he completes the *Legenda*.[15]

Thanks to Caffarini's concrete assistance, Raymond revised the *Legenda* up to the part he had already composed and began to dictate the remaining chapters. Although they believed it would only take less than a week to finish, Caffarini did not have the opportunity to record many pages because Raymond had to depart Venice to tend to other matters:

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[14] See also Raymond's first hagiographical work, i.e., the *Life of Saint Agnes of Montepulciano*: Raymond of Capua, *Legenda beate Agnetis de Monte Policiano*, ed. Silvia Nocentini (Florence, 2001).

[15] Raymond of Capua, Stefano Maconi, Caffarini, *Leggenda minore di s. Caterina da Siena e lettere dei suoi discepoli*, ed. Francesco Grottanelli (Bologna, 1868), pp. 329–30: "Hic est reverendus magister Ordinis…pro concordia totius Italie componenda propter quod fuit longe et erit magis occupatus quam credidisset, propter quod non potuit adhuc dare finem illi legende beate matris. Nam cum hic applicuisset, credidit statim redire Venetias ubi sunt omnia sua, et credo quod sine fallo, modo ipsam complevisset si ibidem ut credidit adfuisset. Attamen super hoc sollicito ipsum ac etiam sollicitabo, quatenus de Italia non recedat quin ipsam completam relinquat."

> And although the Order's Master was very busy, nonetheless every day I repeatedly disturbed him, offering myself for possible help to facilitate the composition of this *legenda*; so at last we began to amend the second, not yet concluded, part, and then to write more, while he dictated and I wrote by hand. But it is not yet complete, because while we thought that the second part could be completed perhaps in four or six days, it happened that the reverend Master had to leave and go to Pisa and then to Rome, and took everything away.[16]

In June 1392, Raymond wrote from Rome that he finished the second volume and was working on the third:

> …I brought to an end the first and the second part. Actually I cannot finish the third part, even a small part of it, because of some great and important affairs, but as soon as I find the time I will complete it.[17]

At last in 1395, ten years after he had started, he finished the *Legenda* and handed it over to Caffarini in Venice:

> At the same time, i.e., 1395, the aforementioned Master Raymond, arriving in Venice from Sicily, offered to me among other things the completed *Legenda*. And soon, on his demand, once it was transcribed, I had it copied in several exemplars.[18]

The *Legenda*, named *prolixa* or *maior*, given its remarkable length and long preparation, is an evident sign that Catherine's confessor, as much as her disciples and secretaries, found it arduous to explain, with the *topoi* peculiar to hagiography at the end of the 14th century, the holy woman's religious experience of God. Modern scholars have seen in it also the subtle incongruities between the "historic saint" and

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[16] *Leggenda minore*, ed. Grottanelli, p. 328: "Et licet reverendus magister Ordinis esset multum occupatus, attamen continue quotidie ipsum molestabam offerendo me ad omne adiutorium michi possibile pro expeditione illius legende, propter quod tandem cepimus illam secundam partem nondum perfectam corrigere; deinde ulterius scribere, ipse dictando et ego scribendo. Necdum est perfecta, quare dum dictam secundam partem perficere infra spatium forte quatuor licet sex dierum cogitassemus, occurrit quod opportuit ipsum reverendum magistrum hinc discedere et Pisas deinde Romam accedere, et secum omnia deferre."

[17] Raymond of Capua, *Raymundi Capuani Opuscula et litterae*, ed. Marie Hyacinthe Cormier (Rome, 1899), p. 74: "…primam et secundam partem operis ad complementum perduxi. Tertiam vero ipsius legende particulam, multis atque magnis negotiis implicatus explere non potui, sed cum vacaverit, Deo adiuvante, complebo."

[18] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento: Legende prolixe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Giuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), pp. 405–06: "Infra supradictum tempus, utpote 1395, adveniens supradictus magister Raymundus de Cicilia Venetias, inter alia presentavit michi singulariter legendam istius virginis per ipsum ad complementum perductam. Qua habita, de mandato eiusdem transcripta, feci consequenter aliquas copiare."

the "constructed saint,"[19] the one coming out of her mystical writings and inspired language[20] and the other presented by Raymond in the *Legenda*. This is actually the central matter for hagiography in general: the image that we get when we read *legendae* cannot simply and fully be interpreted as a factual account of the saint's deeds and life; it is always, indeed, a constructed sanctity. But hagiography can help us to understand something of the original spirituality and devotion under examination, as well as methods the hagiographers used to preserve the memory of sainthood. But we can enter into some further considerations, starting from the literary approach of Raymond of Capua.

Thanks to the new critical editions of Raymond's works,[21] we can draw a clearer picture of his hagiographic role: he was a man of action more than a man of letters, particularly while engaged in the difficult task of General Master of the Dominican Order. His concept of a hagiographical *vita* was to collect the greatest quantity of facts as possible in an ordered and allegorical scheme. This manner of writing reflects also the intention, not as hidden as it may seem, to build in a canonical form a *legenda* that could become part of a canonization's dossier in view of papal approval of the cult. That was the first aim for Raymond in writing the *Legenda*. Obviously, its length would keep it from being used for preaching or liturgy, even if it was taken as a model and conditioned later bio-hagiographies. All that comes after Raymond's text, either additions such as the *Supplementum* by Caffarini or abbreviations such as the *legendae minores* and *minimae*, was valued, organized, and focused on the *Legenda maior*'s canon. In order not to modify it and not to undermine its key role, Caffarini collected several materials and testimonies that Raymond had omitted or simply did not know in the *Libellus de supplemento* and in the files prepared for the so-called *Processo Castellano* begun in 1411, when Caffarini set out to defend the lawfulness of presenting the *Legenda maior* as a proof of Catherine of Siena's sanctity.

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[19] Sofia Boesch Gajano and Odile Redon, "La 'Legenda Maior' di Raimondo da Capua. Costruzione di una santa," in *Atti del Simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano. Siena 17–20 aprile 1980*, eds. Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi (Siena, 1982), pp. 15–35.

[20] For a closer investigation of Catherine's language and literary work, see *Dire l'ineffabile, Caterina da Siena e il linguaggio della mistica, Atti del Convegno Siena 13 e 14 novembre 2003*, eds. Lino Leonardi and Pietro Trifone, La mistica cristiana tra Oriente et Occidente 5 (Florence, 2005).

[21] *Die Legenda maior*, ed. Jungmayr, and *Legenda beate Agnetis*, ed. Nocentini.

We know, thanks to the intuition of Ezio Franceschini,[22] that there were two centers of transmission of the *Legenda maior*: on one hand we have Caffarini's scriptorium in Venice, where the *Legenda maior* arrived once it was finished in 1395; on the other hand we have the scriptorium of Stefano Maconi, a Carthusian monk and disciple of Catherine.

The aforementioned Caffarini[23] was a devotee of Catherine. He entered the Order of Preachers in Siena in c. 1364, and in 1395 he arrived in Venice and was put in charge of the pastoral care of the nuns at the convent of Corpus Christi; he also became associated with the church of San Zanipolo. At San Zanipolo he established a scriptorium which was to produce many literary documents through which Catherine's sanctity could be made better known. In 1396, together with Giovanni Dominici, he was appointed by Raymond as rector of the Dominican penitent women,[24] whose rule was approved by the papal curia in 1405 thanks to Caffarini's support.[25] He died in c. 1434, having spent all his life in promoting the observance, the new Dominican Third Order, and, above all, Catherine of Siena.

Stefano Maconi became Catherine's secretary in 1376.[26] In 1381 he entered the Carthusian Order on Catherine's insistence, and from then on his career progress proved to be as quick as lightning, as Raymond notes in the *Legenda maior*.[27] In 1398 he was appointed General

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[22] See Franceschini, *La leggenda minore*, pp. 121–22.

[23] For the biography of this important and powerful Dominican, see Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4:329–42; Oriana Visani, "Note su Tommaso Nacci Caffarini," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 9 (1973), 227–97; Fernanda Sorelli, "La production hagiographique du dominicain Tommaso Caffarini. Exemples de sainteté, sens et visées d'une propagande," in *Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle. Table ronde organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome 22–23 juin 1979)* (Rome, 1981), pp. 189–200; and Silvia Nocentini, "Lo *scriptorium* di Tommaso Caffarini a Venezia," *Hagiographica* 12 (2005), 79–144.

[24] On this subject, see *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2005).

[25] See Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process. Dominican Penitent Women and the Making of their 'Regula,'" *Speculum* 79 (2004), 660–87, at 683–86; and *Dominican Penitent Women* (English translation), ed. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, pp. 46–56.

[26] For a complete biography of Stefano Maconi, see Giovanni Leoncini, "Un certosino del tardo Medioevo: Don Stefano Maconi," *Analecta Cartusiana* 63.2 (1991), 54–107; and, for his activity as promoter of Catherine's sanctity, Nocentini, "Lo *scriptorium*," pp. 87–93.

[27] Raymond of Capua, *Legenda maior*, 1.2, fol. 162, l. 53: "…alter vero Stephanus Conradi de Maconibus, qui, ex iussu eiusdem vriginis sibi facto dum transiret ex hoc

Master of his Order and moved to the Charterhouse of Seitz, in Styria. He died in 1424 in the new Lombard Charterhouse in Pavia. Through these two men, the *Legenda maior* spread quickly over Europe and was soon translated into different vernacular languages.

The history of the *Legenda maior* can be easily documented by the *Libellus de supplemento* and proved by the relationships between Caffarini and Maconi: Caffarini's deeds supporting Catherine's cause are well known, as is his good friendship with Raymond; and when Raymond died in Nuremberg in 1399, Stefano Maconi delivered the funeral sermon.

I have tried to verify the *Legenda*'s historical evidence through philological tests, that is, to demonstrate that the two transmission channels did not act in an identical and uniformly planned way, but they were guided by two different wills, with aims and intentions quite similar yet independent to each other. Philological observations can help us plan more precisely the circumstances of the complex handling of Catherine's sanctity made by her supporters. We can define two more elements from philological analysis, which would not be evident from a purely historical study: the one is connected to Stefano Maconi, whose action and role become clearer after an analysis of the codices coming from Carthusian *scriptoria*; the other is a division in three chronological stages of the diffusion of the *Legenda*. Let us start from the data.

We know of 55 manuscripts of the *Legenda maior*,[28] most of which were copied soon after its composition, i.e., between 1395—the year in which Raymond's text began to be transcribed, after he handed it over to Caffarini in Venice—and c. 1450. Four of these manuscripts lack the prologue (numbers 1, 2, 8, 16), some of them contain only excerpts (numbers 4, 6, 14, 25, 33, 42, 43, 48, 52), and two are missing altogether (numbers 17, 30). It is relevant, furthermore, to note how the manuscripts are distributed chronologically. We have a good 16 manuscripts copied before 1415, within a very short period (about 20 years) from the composition of *Legenda maior*;[29] this is a clear sign of an intense activity in those *scriptoria* from which the transmission of the text was demanded. This intense activity does not slow down

mundo ad patrem, ordinem Cartusiensium est ingressus, in quo divina gratia se comitante adeo iam profecit, quod magna pars Ordinis sui eius visitationibus monitis et exemplis fratrum eiusdem Ordinis gubernatur et regitur, priorque in presenciarum est in conventu Mediolanensi ordinis supradicti, ubi non parve opinionis et fame habetur ab omnibus."

[28] See below, pp. 352–53, for the complete list: Appendix (1).

[29] See numbers 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 20, 24, 27, 28, 32, 34, 40, 41, 45, 50, 52.

in the following decades, as proved by the 35 exemplars[30] datable to the 15th century (but after 1415), mostly produced within the middle part of the century. We see the first signs of a decrease in the number of transcriptions in the years following Catherine's canonization on 29 June 1461. This would confirm the thesis that the primary reason for the great success and diffusion of *Legenda maior* manuscripts was the will of the Dominican Order to make Catherine's cult approved by the Roman Curia. At the scriptorium, everyone tried to copy and spread the works related to Catherine as much as possible, in order to expand the cult, which, in turn, would influence the ecclesiastical judges. Once the institutional goal was reached, the transcription activity had a marked drop, but without stopping completely; in fact there are only five codices datable to the 16th or 17th centuries.[31]

Some of these manuscripts hold a prominent position, due to the particular circumstances of their writing. We know that the diffusion of the text went through two transmission channels, the one passing through the Dominican convents on Caffarini's order, the other spreading through European Charterhouses on Maconi's demand. I will now explain how I have worked on these manuscripts, in order to demonstrate clearly how the conclusions were drawn about the handling of the *Legenda maior*.

The first step in our philological investigation is to look for exemplars which, on the basis of the examination of the manuscript tradition, are most directly linked to each promoter of Catherine's sanctity. This is possible for Caffarini, because codex Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, XIV.24 (*R*), seems to be the copy which Caffarini says he made from Raymond's original: in fact it is datable to 1396–98, and in several places in the text one finds Caffarini's handwriting and it comes from the scriptorium of San Zanipolo in Venice. This manuscript has been chosen as the base text for the collation of the other codices, and I have transcribed it entirely. Among the other witnesses of "Caffarinian" origin, I selected:

- *S* Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.1, *post* 1409. Caffarini affirms that he sent to Siena several volumes on Catherinian matters in view of a process, so we can be quite sure of the provenance and the supervision he had on this manuscript.

[30] See numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54 and 55.

[31] See numbers 1, 2, 25, 36, 42.

- *N* Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. IV.75, c. 1405. This manuscript was created in Caffarini's Venetian scriptorium by the hand of Georgius Alamannus and sent to Nuremberg probably shortly after 1405, i.e., after papal approval of the Penitent's rule.[32]
- *P* Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale 830, 15th century, whose Dominican convent received a *Legenda* from Caffarini.
- *Na* Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale XIV.B.40, end of 14th century–beginning of 15th century, originally kept by the convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome and coming from Venice.

As for the manuscripts of the "Maconian" tradition, I selected:

- *M* Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AD.IX.38, c. 1400, considered one of the first codices which Maconi ordered written for Pavia's Charterhouse and containing a few of his autograph marginal notes.
- *V* Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10151, c. 1400, which hands down the most ancient "Maconian" note we know.
- *W* Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3700, 1453, an example of the late diffusion of this text.

Finally, I have also included the codex Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 661 (*E*), which is of great interest, even if it lacks prologues, because it is the copy of a manuscript, now missing, that was emended directly by Raymond when he was in Nuremberg.[33] This missing codex reached the German city through the Maconian *via* and was already there when Caffarini sent his copy of the *Legenda* (i.e., MS *N*): "There were some letters of the Nuremberg's subprior, in the Teutonic province of the Order of Preachers, that mention, among other matters, two *legendae* of the virgin, of which I sent one there."[34]

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[32] See Raymond of Capua, *Die Legenda Maior*, ed. Jungmayr, pp. xliii–xlv.

[33] Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 661, fol. 1: "Est sciendum quod eandem legendam reverendissimus et piissimus pater in Christo dominus Raymundus generalis magister totius ordinis predicatorum qui hic Nuremberge obiit (…) non tantum composuit et dictavit, sed, quod magis est, etiam presentem librum ipsius legende ad instantiam dicti domini Iohannis supplice propria manu correxit et emendavit (…) In vacuo folio ante legendam immediate hoc quod in suprema margine scribitur, scilicet prologus, ubi est ipse curavit habere (…) Licet primo dictus magister pro huiusmodi rogatus a domino Iohanne diceret se hoc propter alias occupationes facere non posse, sed postea per se motu proprio pro ipso libro mittens addidit dicens: "Ego sum correptus, ego sum correptus."

[34] *Processo Castellano*, p. 77: "Item alique littere fuerunt cuiusdam supprioris de Nurimberga, provincie Theutonie ordinis Predicatorum, facientes mentionem inter alia de duabus legendis virginis, quarum unam ego sibi transmisi."

All of these manuscripts are datable between the end of the 14th century and the middle of the 15th, i.e., in the period of the most rapid diffusion and production of copies of the *Legenda maior*. The examination of the handwritten tradition on these sample codices, even if it is still partial, leads us to some significant results, which can be summarized in the following brief considerations.

First of all, the bifurcation of the stemmatic tree is confirmed, as we can single out two manuscript families (and several sub-families), which we could call *alpha* and *beta*, branching out from Raymond of Capua's textual archetype (*RC*).[35] The *alpha* family, which represents the Maconian channel of transmission, hands down an almost correct text, and a small number of errors characterize it. We can identify the *beta* family, representing the Caffarinian channel of transmission, not only by numerous innovations in the text, which could possibly trace back to *RC*, but also by some long additions fitted into the text of a few of this family's manuscripts (the sub-family *zeta* = *PSN*) and recognizable as a Caffarinian work on the basis of his style.[36] Although such passages can be found both in Caffarini's deposition at the *Processo Castellano*[37] (1411–16) and in his *Libellus de Supplemento*[38] (1412–17), we can affirm with a relative certainty that the *additiones* are drawn from the *Libellus.*[39]

As for when these additions were made to the *Legenda maior*'s text, we can fix with certainty a *terminus post quem*, in c. 1402, when Caffarini began to write the first version of the *Supplementum*. We can suppose that in the same period, because Catherine's canonization was being urged by the Dominicans, in the Caffarinian scriptorium circle there developed a need to refine the *Legenda maior*, which would be presented as the canonical biography of the Sienese saint to the Roman Curia.[40] As a *terminus ante quem*, we can set c. 1405, the date around which the Nürnberg codex *N*, having such additions, was written. We can say that the presence of the additions is an important factor when

[35] See below, p. 350, Figure 1: Stemmatic Tree of the *Legenda maior*.

[36] Since this aspect of the texts is not reported in catalogues, I shall confine myself to the manuscripts I have personally examined: Nürnberg, Stadtsbibliothek, Cent. IV.75; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale T.I.1; and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale 830.

[37] *Processo Castellano*, pp. 62–63.

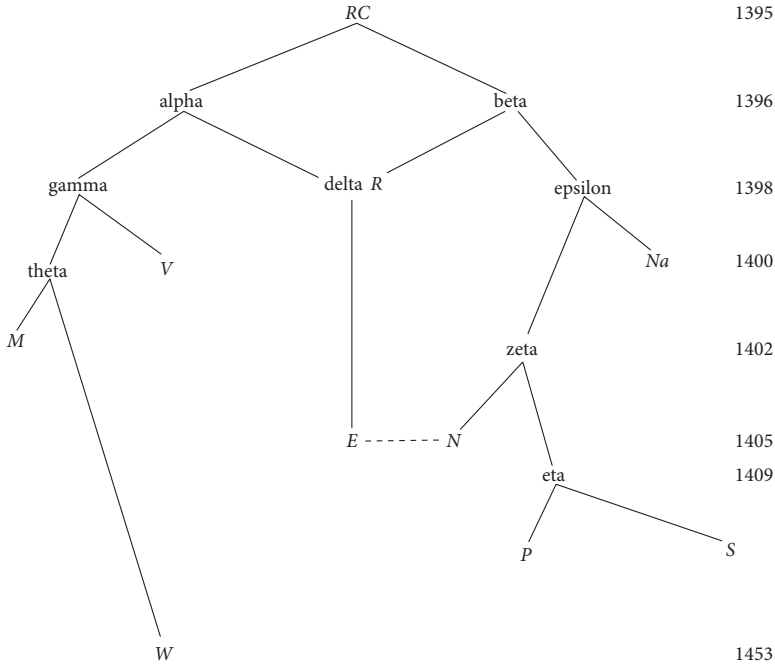
[38] Caffarini, *Libellus de Supplemento*, pp. 16–17; 117–20.

[39] See Nocentini, "Lo *scriptorium*," pp. 104–10 and *passim.*

[40] For a deeper investigation on these matters, see Nocentini, "Lo *scriptorium*," *passim*.

we decide if a codex belongs to the Caffarinian or to the Maconian branch of the tradition.

The stemmatic tree looks like this:[41]



E = Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 661
M = Milano, Biblioteca Braidense AD.IX.38
Na = Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale XIV.B.40
N = Nürnberg, Stadtsbibliothek, Cent. IV.75
P = Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale 830
R = Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV. 24
RC = Raymond of Capua
S = Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.1
V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 10151
W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3700
alpha = consensus codicum *MVEW*
beta = consensus codicum *RPSNaN*
gamma = consensus codicum *MVW*
delta = missing antigraph of *E*
epsilon = consensus codicum *PSNa N*
zeta = consensus codicum *PSN*
eta = consensus codicum *PS*
theta = consensus codicum *MW*

Figure 1. Stemmatic tree of the *Legenda maior*

[41] See Appendix (2), pp. 354–57, for a few editorial versions of the text.

A timeline has been entered on the right-hand side of Figure 1, and the branches are sketched according to their relationships to each other and their dating. Such a scheme signifies that the course of diffusion of the *Legenda* developed in three stages. In the first stage, Dominican scriptoria copied the biography left by Raymond, which was handed down by a Dominican channel (*beta*); in the second stage, at a very slightly later time, it circulated also through the Carthusian *scriptoria* (*alpha*) directed by Maconi. These two initial steps are set in 1395–96; after that, the Maconian family (*alpha*) spread in a linear way, with a small number of sub-families, substantially limited to the *gamma* branch, with the isolated exception of *E* and its missing antigraph *delta*. The *beta* family, in contrast, has different stages of transmission: one ancient, represented by *R* (which unfortunately contains many errors), *epsilon*, and *Na* in particular, datable to 1398–1402; the other, represented by *zeta* and datable after 1402, represents the third stage of the *Legenda*'s diffusion and reflects the fact that when the probability of a canonization process seems to get closer (between 1405 and 1417), the Venetian Catherinian faction, led by Caffarini, restyled the text, adding some information, taken from other writings which Caffarini prepared for canonization purposes and which could be used to enrich Catherine's image or the facts narrated by Raymond. In this group of manuscripts, the position of *N* is of great importance. *N* was contaminated by an exemplar of the Maconian tradition, *E*, in turn coming from an apograph which was produced in Nuremberg's Charterhouse and emended in the same city by Raymond himself between 1395 and 1399.

A second, very important conclusion is that Stefano Maconi represents an absolute faithfulness to Catherine, to her message, and to the *Legenda maior* as well. This is evident in how he ensured not only that copies of her *Legenda* were made wherever he went—Pavia, Seitz, Nuremberg—but also, most of all, in that those copies preserve its content just as it was handed over by Raymond. Caffarini, in contrast, displayed his love for his *mamma* (as Catherine was called by her disciples) by trying to intervene in the narration of her *vita*, as is shown in the many interpolations in a family of manuscripts, datable after 1405.

In conclusion, the forthcoming edition has to deal with a complicated textual transmission and must consider the concordance of a bifurcated tradition. It is not the simplest philological work, trying to fix the text as close to original as possible, taking consequently as

its basis the Maconian text: a text which has to be emended with the Caffarinian one, because the most ancient manuscript of this branch, *R*, was corrected by Caffarini himself and thus is not entirely "pure." For a critical edition, this is the primary goal: to reconstruct the history of the text.

Appendix 1: List of Manuscripts of the *Legenda maior*

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtsbibliothek, 2° 98, fols 1v–109vb, c. 16th–17th (lacking in prologue)
Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtsbibliothek, 2° 327, fols 74ra–234vb, c. 1500 (lacking in prologue)
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W.350, fols 10r–236v, c. 1470 (*olim* Firenze, Olschki nr. 30433) [I thank the editors for locating this MS.]
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Magdeb. 221, fols 1r–44v, 15th century (*excerpta*)
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 1741, fols 13r–172v, 1485
Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek S 365, fols 1r–104v, 1481 (*excerpta*)
Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek S 367, fols 16r–59v, 15th century
Brussel/Bruxelles, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothéque Royale de Belgique 22004, fols 1–120v, 15th century (lacking prologue)
Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut., S.XXIX.17, fols 1–88, 15th century (*post* 1461)
Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. F.VIII.211, fols 1r–140v, 1405
Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10151, fols 1r–93v, c. 1400
Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 13677, fols 1–182, first half of the 15th century
Darmstadt, Hessische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek 128, fols 1r–128v, first quarter of the 15th century
Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliothek 7.H.49, fols 1–30, 15th century (*excerpta*)
Dillingen, Studienbibliothek 77, first half of the 15th century
Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 661, fols 1–128, 1405 (lacking prologue)
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 833 (missing), 1400
Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek 22, fols 257r–337v, 1454–5
Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek 198, fols 1r–130v, 1498
Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Pap. 122, fols 1r–178v, end of the 14th century
Koblenz, Stadtbibliothek O.172.138 S, 15th century
Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université 361, 1468
Lisboa, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, MSS da Livraria, 512, fols 5r–141v, 1465
Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica [National and University Library], fols 1–100, 1401
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 9598, 17th century

Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 168, fols 153–206v, 15th century (*excerpta*)
Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 283, 1404
Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AD. IX. 38, fols 1–173, c. 1400
Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana 502, fols 127–227, 15th century (1453)
Napoli, Archivio di Stato 37, fols 1–214, 15th century (missing)
Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III VIII.B.48, fols 3–124v, 15th century
Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III XIV.B.40, fols 15–117v, end of 14th century–beginning of 15th century
Nürnberg Stadtsbibliothek, Cent. IV.75, fols 97–198v, c. 1405
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 205, fols 4–75v, 15th century (*excerpta*)
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1715, fols 9–133, 1463
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 18310, fols 1–199, 1533
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 560, 15th century
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale 830, fols 2–85, 15th century
Pisa, Biblioteca del Seminario 24, fols 2–71r, 15th century
Reun (Rein), Stiftsbibliothek 93, fols 1–162, 1414
Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori XIV.24, fols 18–172v, sec. XIV, 1396–68
Roma, Biblioteca Alessandrina 92, fols 723–868v, sec. XVII
Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 1378, fols 1r–92v, 15th century (only the second part of the text)
San Marino (California), Huntington Library, RB 68069, fols 49r–102v, 15th century (*excerpta*)
Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.I.1, fols 1r–118v, 15th century (*post* 1409)
Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati T.III.1, fols 1r–143v, 15th century
Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular 25–35, 15th century
Trier, Bistumsarchiv 92, fols 139r–258v, 15th century
Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminar, 141, fols 1r–57v, end of the 15th century (*excerpta*)
Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 470, fols 1–260, c. 1400
Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3700, fols 2r–144v, 1453
Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4179, fols 1r–173r, 1415
Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n.12.708, fols 86v–102v, post 1485 (*excerpta*)
Wien, Staatsarchiv 9364, fols 86v–112v, 1427–87
Wien, Schottenstift 207 (193), 1r–117v, 15th century

Appendix 2: Textual Examples of the Stemmatic Tree

Here are five examples of the textual tradition, to clarify the conclusions I have presented above. The numbers refer to the volume, chapter, and paragraph. The first column on the left shows the text chosen for the edition.

Example 1

1.6.23

delta family	gamma family and *R*	epsilon
Eratque, ut refert, duple latitudinis et grossitiei membris in omnibus corporis quam esset cum XXVIII erat annorum, nec mirum si erat taliter diminutum, immo mirum videtur et est, *nec puto* sine miraculo fieri potuisse quod non fuit ex toto consumptum. Porro tempore quo ipsam *novi* quilibet perpendere poterat quod exhausti valde vigoris erat et tenuis, quia crescente spiritu carnem est necesse deficere, tanquam superatam ab eo; hoc tamen non obstante, semper *alacriter* laborabat et potissime pro animarum salute, quamvis incessanter plures langores corporeos pateretur, ita ut alia videretur Caterina *que attenuata patiebatur et alia que letantissime laborabat et vere alia caro quidem patiebatur*, sed spiritus laborabat ille pinguis et fortis ab intra carnem debilem in laboribus substentabat simul et confortabat.	Eratque, ut refert, duple latitudinis et grossitiei membris in omnibus corporis quam esset cum XXVIII erat annorum, nec mirum si erat taliter diminutum, immo mirum videtur et est, *nec puto* sine miraculo fieri potuisse quod non fuit ex toto consumptum. Porro tempore quo ipsam *novi* quilibet perpendere poterat quod exhausti valde vigoris erat et tenuis, quia crescente spiritu carnem est necesse deficere, tanquam superatam ab eo; hoc tamen non obstante, semper *alacriter* laborabat et potissime pro animarum salute, quamvis incessanter plures langores corporeos pateretur, ita ut alia videretur Caterina *que attenuata patiebatur*, sed spiritus laborabat ille pinguis et fortis ab intra carnem debilem in laboribus substentabat simul et confortabat.	Eratque, ut refert, duple latitudinis et grossitiei membris in omnibus corporis quam esset cum XXVIII erat annorum, nec mirum si erat taliter diminutum, immo mirum videtur et est, sine miraculo fieri potuisse quod non fuit ex toto consumptum. Porro tempore quo ipsam *cognovi* quilibet perpendere poterat quod exhausti valde vigoris erat et tenuis, quia crescente spiritu carnem est necesse deficere, tanquam superatam ab eo; hoc tamen non obstante, semper laborabat et potissime pro animarum salute, quamvis incessanter plures langores corporeos pateretur, ita ut alia videretur Caterina *que attenuata patiebatur*, sed spiritus laborabat ille pinguis et fortis ab intra carnem debilem in laboribus substentabat simul et confortabat.

This passage is illustrative of the version of the manuscript *E*. Raymond's corrections in his antigraph (*delta*) have no influence on the text in general, so we do not notice an authorial rewriting, but only a few formal annotations.

Example 2

1.9.20

alpha family and *N* (emended over erasure)	*R* and *Na*	family eta
Dumque sic in bivio quodammodo positus ad neutram partem firmiter declinarem *nutansque mente* anxie dirigi cuperem ab illo qui nec falli potest nec fallere, subito menti occurrit quod si posset michi constare quod precibus eius obtinerem a Domnino unam magnam et insolitam contritionem peccatorum meorum ultra omnem consuetudinem meam, hoc esset mihi perfectum signum quod a Spiritu Sancto procederent omnia facta sua. Nullus enim potest hanc contritione habere nisi a Spiritu Sancto et quamvis nemo sciat an gratia vel amore sit dignus, magnum tamen signum gratie Dei est *cordialis contrictio* peccatorum, nec cogitationem hanc ad linguam seu vocem duxi.	Dumque sic in bivio quodammodo positus ad neutram partem firmiter declinarem *recitansque mente* anxie dirigi cuperem ab illo qui nec falli potest nec fallere, subito menti occurrit quod si posset michi constare quod precibus eius obtinerem a Domnino unam magnam et insolitam contritionem peccatorum meorum ultra omnem consuetudinem meam, hoc esset mihi perfectum signum quod a Spiritu Sancto procederent omnia facta sua. Nullus enim potest hanc contritione habere nisi a Spiritu Sancto et quamvis nemo sciat an gratia vel amore sit dignus, magnum tamen signum gratie Dei est *cordialis contrictio* peccatorum, nec cogitationem hanc ad linguam seu vocem duxi.	Dumque sic in bivio quodammodo positus ad neutram partem firmiter declinarem *mente* anxie dirigi cuperem ab illo qui nec falli potest nec fallere, subito menti occurrit quod si posset michi constare quod precibus eius obtinerem a Domnino unam magnam et insolitam contritionem peccatorum meorum ultra omnem consuetudinem meam, hoc esset mihi perfectum signum quod a Spiritu Sancto procederent omnia facta sua. Nullus enim potest hanc contritione habere nisi a Spiritu Sancto et quamvis nemo sciat an gratia vel amore sit dignus, magnum tamen signum gratie Dei est *contrictio* peccatorum, nec cogitationem hanc ad linguam seu vocem duxi.

This passage shows how a problem in the apograph of the Dominican witnesses, i.e., the misunderstanding of the word *nutansque* caused a series of different behaviors in the copyists. The *alpha* family brings the correct *lectio*, while in the *beta* family the branch *eta* has an incorrect omission in the text, *R* and *Na* are emended with the incorrect *recitansque*, while *N*, whose copyist had at his disposal a manuscript like *E*, or simply *E* itself, is correct, despite the reading *difficilior, nutansque*.

Example 3

2.7.35

VWSNaN	*RMP*	*E*
Hec forsitan quia invisibiliter fiunt tibi modica, lector dilecte, apparent, sed, si Augustini ac Gregorii scruteris sententias, invenies maius hoc fuisse miraculum quam si post mortem hii fuissent resuscitati et, ut medio utar Gregorii, in resurrectione corporea fuisset resuscitata caro iterum moritura, in hac autem resuscitata est anima in eternum victura. *Item in resuscitatione* corporis nullum habet obstaculum divina potentia, in resuscitatione vero anime, propter legem liberi arbitrii datam, obstaculum quodammodo patitur, quia ille potest nolle converti. Propter quod dicitur quod conversio peccatoris etiam creationem mundi excedit in ostensione divine potentie.	Hec forsitan quia invisibiliter fiunt tibi modica, lector dilecte, apparent, sed, si Augustini ac Gregorii scruteris sententias, invenies maius hoc fuisse miraculum quam si post mortem hii fuissent resuscitati et, ut medio utar Gregorii, in resurrectione corporea fuisset resuscitata caro iterum moritura, in hac autem resuscitata est anima in eternum victura. *In resuscitatione* corporis nullum habet obstaculum divina potentia, in resuscitatione vero anime, propter legem liberi arbitrii datam, obstaculum quodammodo patitur, quia ille potest nolle converti. Propter quod dicitur quod conversio peccatoris etiam creationem mundi excedit in ostensione divine potentie.	Hec forsitan quia invisibiliter fiunt tibi modica, lector dilecte, apparent, sed, si Augustini ac Gregorii scruteris sententias, invenies maius hoc fuisse miraculum quam si post mortem hii fuissent resuscitati et, ut medio utar Gregorii, in resurrectione corporea fuisset resuscitata caro iterum moritura, in hac autem resuscitata est anima in eternum victura. *Licet in resurrectione* corporis nullum habet obstaculum divina potentia, in resuscitatione vero anime, propter legem liberi arbitrii datam, obstaculum quodammodo patitur, quia ille potest nolle converti. Propter quod dicitur quod conversio peccatoris etiam creationem mundi excedit in ostensione divine potentie.

In this case, the *lectiones* given by the two families intersect, except that of *E*, where the emendation of Raymond evident in turning the phrase into a concessive clause.

Example 4

2.12.4

Constituted text	*RC*, i.e., the whole codexes examined
Item ex quo sanctorum patrum habet doctrina quod fidelis quisque letali crimine non detentus, si devotionem habeat actualem, non solum licite sed etiam meritorie sumit hoc saluberrimum sacramentum, quis audere <*poterit*> personam catholice ac sante viventem quomodolibet prohibere ne meritum illud sepe ac frequenter acquirat?	Item ex quo sanctorum patrum habet doctrina quod fidelis quisque letali crimine non detentus, si devotionem habeat actualem, non solum licite sed etiam meritorie sumit hoc saluberrimum sacramentum, quis audere *debet* personam catholice ac sante viventem quomodolibet prohibere ne meritum illud sepe ac frequenter acquirat?

Example of an editorial integration, necessary because all manuscripts have the same incorrect *lectio*. In this way we can read (from *quis audere*): "Who <could> dare to forbid someone living in a holy and catholic way to receive often and frequently that [sacrament]?"

Example 5

3.6.85

alpha family	beta family except *N* where the italic text is added in margin
Unde nec causa nec pena sibi defuit perfecti martirii, sicut in secundo tertie partis capitulo latius est descriptum ac in tertio et quarto capitulis sequentibus repetitum. Ex quo manifeste concluditur quod non modo auream per martirii desiderium, sed etiam aureolam per actualem martirii passionem est consecuta in celis.	Unde nec causa nec pena sibi defuit perfecti martirii, sicut in secundo tertie partis capitulo latius est descriptum ac in tertio et quarto capitulis sequentibus repetitum, *quamquam etiam tota eius vita continuum et singulare ac insigne martirium a principio sue peregrinationis et militie usque ad dictam septuagesime dominicam non inmerito dici possit, ut ex tota legenda colligi clare potest*. Ex quo manifeste concluditur quod non modo auream per martirii desiderium, sed etiam aureolam per actualem martirii passionem est consecuta in celis.

An addition in the margin of *N* shows the use that was made in this manuscript of different codices, such as an antigraph from family *beta* and the text of *E*, to integrate difficult readings. Perhaps this kind of addition was put in the margin after the main text was written.

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